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THE MORAVIAN MISSION IN ALASKA.

BY THE REV. J. TAYLOR HAMILTON, PROFESSOR IN THE MORAVIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BETHLEHEM, PA., AND ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE "MORAVIAN."

IMPERISHABLE as the amaranth, the results of Christian philanthropy often furnish a commentary from life on the saying of the ancient preacher, that bread "cast upon the waters" shall be found "after many days." Gloriously though they displayed the power of the Gospel to subdue the hearts of the fiercest of savages, the Moravian missions among the Indians during the last century were emphatically a sowing of seed on soil flooded by the waters of disaster. Commencing with the fruitful work of Christian Henry Rauch among the Mohicans of Shekomeko, in Dutchess County, N. Y., in 1740, and productive of flourishing villages of civilized Christian Delawares and Iroquois in Pennsylvania and Ohio, in spite of the sixty-two years of apostolic labor of David Zeisberger and the faithful and successful efforts of his numerous coadjutors, ruthless war, compulsory wanderings, and cruel massacre of "brown hearts," too Christian to bear arms in self-defence, reduced the Moravian Indians to a feeble remnant by the beginning of the present century. Although by the year 1809 between thirteen and fourteen hundred converts had been baptized, long before that date the decline had set in; and with but four stations to represent the once flourishing enterprise, by the time the centenary of the mission came round, short-sighted human judgment might very likely have pronounced it all "useless toil." Casting of "bread upon the waters," that it was; but would it be found again "after many days?" God knew.

Near where the Lehigh cleaves a narrow passage through those Blue Mountains which then formed the border of the Indian Country, three years before Rauch brought the Gospel to the tribes of New York, and four years before his fellow-Moravians col-

onized in the "Forks of the Delaware," there was born to the son of Netawatwes, head sachem of the Delawares, a child called by his people Gelelemend, that is Kilbuck. This child, who in time came to the headship of his nation, like his grandfather received baptism at the hands of a Moravian missionary, and remained a devoted, consistent Christian till his death at Goshen, in Ohio, in 1811.

A few families near Ottawa, Kan., are now the sole representatives of these Christianized Delawares within the limits of the United States; and yet, not absolutely the only remnant.

Away off in the semi-arctic regions of Alaska, Gelelemend's great-grandson, John Henry Kilbuck, a full-blooded descendant of a long line of chiefs, is heralding Christ with magnificent success to benighted Esquimaux, as an ordained minister of the Church which brought his ancestors under the power of the cross; and so it is, that bread "cast upon the waters" is being found "after many days."

The story of this mission, in which the descendant of Indian chiefs stands forth as the most prominent figure, is full of interest, and demonstrates anew that the only wise as well as only Christian policy for whites over against the aborigines of this and every other land, has a solution provided in the world-religion of Jesus Christ. Applied Christianity, such as Zeisberger and Heckewelder and their colleagues advocated more than a hundred years ago, if from the first adopted and consistently and steadfastly utilized by our nation, would not only have averted the shedding of much human blood, but with this would have prevented at least one of our national sins, and might have given the red race a glorious future. Fortunate it is that to-day it

is beginning to be more or less widely proclaimed, that the "good Indian" is the "Christianized Indian."

The commencement of the Moravian Mission in Alaska, in which John Henry Kilbuck seems destined to do an apostle's work, was entirely unforeseen by the members of that Church till within a year of its actual inception; and the call came from an unexpected quarter.

Ever since the year 1787 there has existed at Bethlehem, Pa., the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen." At the annual meeting of this society, held on August 23, 1883, its President, the late Moravian Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, communicated a letter from the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D., then of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, now Superintendent of Education in Alaska, in which he proposed to the Moravian Church the establishment of a mission among the Indians and Esquimaux of Alaska. He wrote that he had unsuccessfully applied to other denominations on behalf of the neglected heathen of the northwestern part of the Territory.

Dr. Jackson's appeal was favorably entertained, and ere long the directing board of the Moravian Church in America appointed the Rev. A. Hartmann, missionary among the Indians in Ontario, and Mr. William Weinland, a member of the graduating class of the Moravian Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem, to undertake a tour of exploration in the little-known western portion of Alaska.

Passage having been secured on the United States revenue cutter *Corwin*, various officials of the Marine Revenue Bureau and Coast Survey expressed their kindly interest, and intimated that the Government would welcome all information the explorers might be able to gather about the inhabitants, flora, fauna, and geological features of that portion of the Territory.

For while the financial wisdom of the purchase effected in 1867 had already been strikingly vindicated by the revenue derived from the monopoly of the catch of seals, the central and northern portions of Alaska remained in large measure a *terra incognita*.

Steaming out of San Francisco on May 3d, 1884, the *Corwin*, Lieutenant M. A. Healy commanding, reached Ounalaska on May 16th, and thence the explorers proceeded in the *Dora*, a steamer belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company, across Behring Sea to the mouth of the Nushagak River. Here a priest of the Greek Church

was found, who claimed the district of the Nushagak and Togiak rivers as his parish; hence they remained with the ship till she anchored at the mouth of the Kuskokwim River on June 12th.

Up this stream the explorers travelled for about one hundred and fifty miles in two large *bidarkas*, skin canoes, each seating three persons, being paddled by natives. Their interpreter was a Mr. Lind, an agent of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco.

Through the mediation of Mr. Lind the natives were found to be disposed to friendly intercourse and approachable, and on the whole honest, having very few possessions to tempt cupidity or prompt to theft, but very superstitious, very filthy, very loose in their estimate of the marriage relation, and living in complete disregard of the most ordinary laws of health, so that lung diseases and scrofulous affections appeared to be very common. Good-natured and smiling, in the midst of their degradation, they at no time inspired the strangers with a sense of insecurity.

As for the land, it was flat, sandy soil, frozen at the depth of a few feet below the surface, and was covered with *tundra*, a mossy, peaty growth. Considerable timber of slight thickness was met with on the numerous islands. Berries were more or less plentiful. In the distance mountains, wooded on their lower slopes, rose to a respectable height. Indications of great forests along the southern reaches of the Kuskokwim, in the distant interior, were present in the driftwood lodged on the mudbanks and islands of the stream.

As a result of the report of these explorations, the spring of 1885 sees a company of missionary pioneers in San Francisco en route for Bethel, as the projected station about seventy-five miles up the Kuskokwim is to be named. They are the Revs. William H. Weinland and John Henry Kilbuck, recent graduates of the Moravian Theological Seminary, with their wives, and Hans Torgersen, a practical carpenter, who goes with them as a lay missionary to superintend the building of houses and assist in establishing the mission. He has left his wife at the Indian mission of his Church in Canada, where he has hitherto been engaged. On May 18th the *Lizzie Merrill*, a chartered schooner, weighs anchor and bears them to a field fitted for the display of the staunchest Christian heroism. After a tedious voyage anchor is dropped at the mouth of the Kuskokwim about the middle of June, and by the 19th all their goods have

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been transferred to shore in a small sailboat, the *Bethel Star*, with which the river is to be navigated. A native of Pennsylvania, a pure-blooded descendant of Delaware chiefs, and a Scandinavian, heralds of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to Esquimaux; so it is that the drawing power of the cross not only brings the nations of the world to own the sceptre of the one sovereign Lord, but levels also distinctions of race and in the truest sense makes all men kin.

Heartily welcomed and hospitably entertained by Mr. Lind, the missionaries began to provide permanent accommodations for themselves; but soon they were to be put to a severe test. On August 10th, while bringing from the mouth of the river a load of lumber, the most experienced man, Hans Torgersen, fell overboard and was drowned.

It would be difficult for those who have never known anything else than a comfortable home in a temperate climate, to realize the difficulty and the danger of the situation in which the two young men, with their brides of a few months, were thus placed. Face to face with an arctic winter, and without a roof over their heads, neither of them understood carpenters' tools, beyond having the very general knowledge of him who can tell a saw from a chisel and a hammer from a gimlet. The material they had brought for the construction of a house had been so thoroughly soaked by frequent rains, as to render it doubtful whether it could be used. Kilbuck was suffering from a painful climatic affection of the eyes. "Sign language" was the only medium of communication with the natives, except for the kindly aid of the trader. It might have been excusable, perhaps, had they beaten a retreat while it was possible. Not they.

Erecting a small dwelling according to the best of their ability, they took possession of it in the name of the Lord on October 10th; and none too soon, as life in tents had begun to be unendurable. If it is asked, what was the secret of their endurance during this time of severe test, this sentence from a letter sheds a bright light upon their humble toil, "You see that we can say, The Lord is our Helper."

The winter, which soon set in, was unusually severe, even for Alaska. In October neighboring lakes were like rock in the grasp of the cold, and it was the end of May before the river was open. Warm waves at intervals made the climate endurable, but at times it was very, very cold. On December 29th the thermometer registered 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° below zero. During such

weather two fires had to be maintained night and day. One missionary was kept constantly employed securing wood for fuel; yet considerable study was given to the language of the Esquimaux, many of whose ailments were relieved by the medical skill of the missionaries and their wives; and religious services were steadily maintained. To begin a school was an impossibility this first season.

Meantime, at the solicitation of one of the five companies operating salmon-canneries at the mouth of the Nushagak River, the establishment of a second station there also was being considered, chiefly with a view to secure better communication with Bethel than that afforded by the solitary trips of the trading steamer twice in the summer to the Kuskokwim. Accordingly in the summer of 1886, the Rev. Frank Wolff, of Green Bay, Wis., who volunteered, securing in San Francisco prepared lumber, transported the materials for a dwelling-house and school to the Nushagak, and in thirteen days after landing had it completed, with the aid of the men of the company. On September 8th he locked the building, previous to setting out for home, and entrusted the key to the care of the native chief.

The missionary party destined for Carmel, as this second station was named, left San Francisco on May 10th following, and consisted of Mr. Wolff and his family, and Miss Mary Huber, a lady volunteer from Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa. Such had been the fidelity with which the native chief discharged his trust, that when they reached their destination, the mission-house, with everything it contained, was found untouched.

At Bethel the winter of 1886-87 had been a season of severe trial. School had been opened for native children on September 8th, 1886, and had been steadily maintained, as had also the Sabbath-school organized on the following Lord's Day; but severe lung troubles had incapacitated the missionary, Weinland, from active work. It was evident that the climate would prove fatal ere long if he remained, but in spite of this progress had been made. A second house had been built of logs rafted down the river. The native boys were manifesting surprising aptitude.

Usually the services were well attended by Esquimaux, several of whom expressed a desire to know more when the missionaries' tongues should become "light." The celebration of Christmas had made a sensation far and near. So Kilbuck and

his wife were constrained to bravely hold on, when their only helpers, in shattered health, bade a sad farewell, in spite of the fact that no assistance could be expected till the following summer, owing to the impossibility of communication with the directing board at home.

A weary, weary time must the following winter have been to Kilbuck and his heroic wife. Work enough for half a dozen persons was on their hands. At times Esquimaux covered with boils, resulting from a period of semi-starvation, clamor for salves and medicines; school must be kept, the seventeen children thoroughly cleansed, even disinfected when first received, then clothed and fed; there is another log-house to be built with the aid of natives; heavy parental anxieties about their own little Katie depress them; the bitter cold must be endured, sometimes Kilbuck's lips and nose are frozen as he walks twenty-five or thirty miles to plan for the erection of chapels at two other villages; there are at times contests with the *shamans*, or witch-doctors; sometimes the utter cruelty of the heathen sickens the heart. Here are extracts from the missionary's journal during this period:

"Some one tied a helpless little child of about two years down to the water's edge at low tide. Its cries attracted the attention of a passer-by, who found the water already nearly up to his neck. The man took it to his home and took good care of it. It was recognized as a Neposkiogamute child, whose mother had died, the father leaving it in the care of an old woman at Mumtrekhlagamute. The child is sickly and doubtless was too much of a care for her. The only surprise that people have about it is, that any one should want to drown or kill a boy; their girls are often killed, but seldom a boy." . . . "At the mouth of the river, an old woman was cut up into small pieces by a man, who supposed he had lost his children through her witchery. Some time ago quite a prominent native brought an aunt down here. She was insane, and he was her only living relative. This man wished to leave her among strangers, and tried to bribe them to kill her. He was finally compelled to take her back to his home. We heard the other day that he deliberately froze her to death."

But when night is darkest day is at hand. Christmas has been a time of special inter-

est. It is now the Holy Week. Daily services, such as are customary among Moravians, at which the Gospel narrative of the last days of the God-man upon earth is read, have been commenced on Palm Sunday.

Twice or even sometimes thrice a day there has been a willingness on the part of many Esquimaux to listen for an hour and a half to two hours at a time to the "old, old story." It is at length Good Friday. He has reached the crucifixion, and is explaining that the blood of Jesus Christ takes away the sin of the world, when some of the older men exclaim, "*Kou-já-nah!* (Thanks). *We, too, desire to have our badness taken away by that blood.*" It is Easter Sunday, at daybreak, and forty people have gathered about the grave of the Missionary Torgersen. They sing, in the native language, three hymns of the resurrection. The message, that He died for our sins and rose again for our justification, is precious to the hearts of Esquimaux, it appears, as well as to the Caucasians who sent the messenger and to the Indian messenger from whom they received the glad tidings. After a period of instruction and probation, on September 10th, 1888, eight are gathered into the Church of Christ as the first-fruits of the Moravian Mission in Alaska.

Help was sent to the Rev. Mr. Kilbuck as soon as possible after the situation was learned at home, in the person of the Rev. Ernest Weber, who volunteered and was ordained for service in this special field, and who arrived on June 16th, 1888. His impressions of the life of the natives are conveyed in the following graphic description of a "reception" tendered him by the natives of a village up the river. He says:

"In the evening the natives at this village had one of their dances for my especial benefit. It is more of a feast than anything else. They had a great many berries; and as they did not have any clean dishes for me, they turned my hat inside out and filled it up for me. It is surprising how many some of them can eat; often half a gallon of salmon-berries. They also had their ice-cream (of blubber), and sour fish-heads, and dry fish. They had two young women to dance. I wish I could make you understand how it was. First they get everything ready. They stretch a cord all full of dried birds across the room, and stick them up everywhere. Small birds are on the cord and large ones on the wall, such as large owls. Then the boys and young men all get down in the middle of

* It is a satisfaction to be able to add that the Rev. Mr. Weinland and his family gradually regained health on their return, in 1889, and were sent as missionaries to the Indians on the Banning Reserve in Southern California.

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the room with sticks in their hands. They have two tambourines to beat time on. Then the women come in, all arrayed in grand style. One had a sharpened stick through her nose, and was all covered with beads. Then the singing began. It seemed more like an Indian war-dance to me than anything else. The women would make all kinds of movements. They kept good time, and I must say it looked rather graceful. The boys keep time with their sticks. They do not strike anything, but just make motions. It lasted till about ten o'clock."

Mr. Weber is soon quite at home in his work. Early in December he takes Mr. Kilbuck's place as teacher in the school, that the latter may start off with dog-teams for a visit to Carmel, to confer with his brother missionary about their work. It is expected that this trip will require about thirty-five days, but the difficulties of travel are such that seventy-three days elapse before he reappears, like one risen from the dead, "his hair and beard long and his face all covered with black spots where it had been frozen." It had been almost a miracle that he got through with his life. Meantime his poor wife, worn-out with overwork and anxiety was confined for weeks to her bed, yet her noble faith shone clear and bright through all the trial.

What joy attended the return of the one considered lost! Says Mr. Weber in his diary for February 14th, 1889:

"When we least expect it the Lord answers our prayers. This morning, about eleven o'clock, we saw two large teams come around the island; but we had so completely given up Mr. Kilbuck that I did not think of him. When I saw them, some of the boys said, 'Who is that? Let's get the glass.' Pretty soon they said they believed it was Mr. Kilbuck. Then we all looked, but were afraid to say it was he, for fear we should be disappointed.

"Mr. Lind was here. He said it was he. Pretty soon he waved his hand, and then we knew it was he; and words cannot express the joy that we felt. Mr. Lind and I ran down to meet him. Mrs. Kilbuck and the children were standing by the house waiting. And it just seemed as if Mr. Kilbuck had risen from the dead. I do not believe we should have felt happier if he had."

Mr. Kilbuck's journey parallels the experiences of almost any of the most daring Arctic explorers, especially during the weeks of travel homeward. Fierce storms sometimes detained him in the native huts. Again the way led along the sea beach, and

in the driving of the fine, flour-like snow it would have been easy to pass on to the uncertain ice, liable to drift out to sea, without realizing it in time. Elsewhere it was very difficult to tell whether a gentle slope or a precipitous descent lay ahead. At other points the party had to go zigzag up the mountains. This is the record of one day:

"Last Tuesday I left Togiak very early, but we could not travel very long on account of a heavy mist which prevented our guide from keeping the road; at least he advised that we had better camp before we should get lost. While the men were putting up the tent I found a few armfuls of dry (?) willow twigs with which we managed to boil water for tea. The night was cold, yet I slept very well. In the morning everything in the tent, like the tent roof, was covered with a thick coating of frost. We tried to boil water again, but had to give it up. All day it was cold. I had to take off my snow-shoes for a time to keep my toes from freezing. I almost cried with the pain when reaction set in, nor did I take off my snow-shoes any too soon. My men had the same experience."

His diary for January 30th, written in a native dug-out, reads thus:

"Well, here I am yet, and so is the storm, worse than ever. It is a regular 'Dakota blizzard.' One thing, it cannot hold out much longer. My bread and cracker supply is getting meagre. I still have, however, a good supply of tea and meat, which will last me until I get home. My greatest concern is about my poor dogs."

On Friday, February 1st, he writes:

"3 o'clock P.M.—I have just fed my dogs (first since Sunday) part of my deer-skin bedding. It's poor food, but it's something in their empty stomachs at any rate. How much longer we are to be beleaguered by the storm king I have given up trying to guess. Every morning we say, 'To-morrow will be better,' but we learn that 'to-morrow' is never here."

On the fourth of the month one of the dogs made a meal of his harness and got away with the mittens of one of the Esquimaux. Thursday, February 7th, reads thus in his diary:

"Yesterday, although bitterly cold, I started out, against the opinions of the natives. The sky was beautifully clear, and there never was a calmer morning. It was cold, there was no doubt about that; but simple cold cannot stop me. Well, I started, and it was so cold that an empty sleigh

with iron runners was a load, for the snow was like sand.

"I was on the road about an hour, when my guide stopped and begged me to turn back. I asked for his reasons, upon which he informed me that a storm was approaching, and would be upon us before we could get to the warehouse, at the rate we were travelling. Oh! how I hated the idea of turning back, as the day still looked promising. When the guide saw that I was not fully convinced, he seemed to lose heart, and said, 'Well, we will go on if you say so; but I for one shall certainly freeze to death.' He then set to work to wrap himself up and prepared to go on. I could not but be touched by this, for he might have just simply said, 'You can go on, but I will return to the village.' In that case I could not have made him accompany us. Reluctantly, therefore, I returned to the village. Upon our arrival the people said, 'You did well to come back, for it is cold, and it is going to blow;' and they set to work to help get my bedding and box into the kashima, and to put up my sleigh. Sure enough, long before noon the wind came driving clouds of snow. The kashima, *i. e.*, common house for the men of a village, was so cold, although it had been just fired up, that we all sat and huddled together in our parkas, *i. e.*, fur clothes, to keep warm. It had now been snowing so long that the natives have no wood, not enough to fire up the kashima decently. How I congratulate myself on having such a guide. Here I shall not suffer, nor my men, nor my dogs. The natives sat up nearly all night inside their parkas. I managed to sleep warmly, contrary to my expectation.

"The wind still howls, and it is cold. Hope I will get home before spring. The natives are busy making masks for their annual masquerade dance. To pass the time I have brought in the *Century Magazine*, and between reading it and talking with the natives, the time passes. I find that these people do not comprehend the simplest pictures. They were surprised when I explained to them that the print represented the conversation of some one. I told them that my journal was for you to read, and from it you would know about my entire trip, without my being present to tell you. I gave them a sample of what I had written, and you should have seen their faces covered with astonishment."

The happiness of the return was further enhanced by the reception, on the 24th of the month, of ten of the scholars and four adults into the Church.

The visit to Carmel had not only served to encourage the missionaries there to persevere in spite of all opposition on the part of the Greek priest, but also made it possible to send tidings to the directing board at a much earlier date than usual, through the kindness of Lord Lonsdale, who spent the Christmas season at Carmel at the close of an adventurous tour in arctic regions. From these letters it appeared as though the brave woman who had toiled so long at Bethel without female help might have to return home for a time. The news caused the volunteering of at least *nineteen* persons for missionary service in Alaska. Of these, John Hermann Schoechert, of Watertown, Wis., was ordained and appointed to Carmel; and the daughter of a Moravian clergyman of Riverside, N. J., Miss Deterer, was selected for Carmel. In addition the wife of Bishop Henry T. Bachman, one of the Provincial Elders of the American Moravian Church, offered to go to Bethel for one year with her youngest son, so as to give Mrs. Kilbuck the rest she needed.

The new company of missionaries sailed from San Francisco on May 15th, 1889, and arrived safely at their destinations in June. Cheered by these reinforcements, the missionaries at either station could write hopefully just before winter set in. At Bethel health had been restored to Mrs. Kilbuck. About twenty children, who must be boarded and clothed, were attending the school. And decided progress these Esquimaux have made, the English handwriting of some of them being really creditable. In fact, Mr. Kilbuck wrote that he might send two promising lads to Pennsylvania ere long, to prepare for evangelistic work among their own people. One of the other missionaries considered the patience and carefulness of some of the boys so remarkable, that he believed they might be trained for a craft as difficult as the watch-maker's.

Such in brief is the story of the Moravian Mission in Alaska. Each station is now supplied with five missionaries, two male and three female, the latest additions being a Miss Lebus and a sister of Miss Huber. The two Esquimaux lads, referred to above, are at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, under charge of Captain Pratt. Bishop H. T. Bachman, of the Moravian Church, whose wife returned safely the previous year, last summer paid the mission an official visitation. He describes the outlook as hopeful. About fifty natives are connected with both stations. Two Esquimaux, on recommen-

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dation of the missionaries, were by him formally commissioned as lay evangelists. A third station will probably soon be begun.

Though it needs years to acquire the language, to translate the Scriptures, establish schools, and have the good seed germinate in the hearts and bear fruit in the lives of heathen utterly ignorant and degraded as were the Esquimaux, enough has been accomplished to render safe the assertion, that in the person of John Henry Kilbuck, successfully heralding Christ to the Esquimaux of the Kuskokwim, bread "cast upon the waters" is being found "after many days."

If the maintenance of the languishing mission among his people in Kansas, fast hurrying to extinction, had accomplished little else than the raising up of such a man, a true Christian hero, it could not rightly be called labor spent in vain. The case of one such representative of the fruit of Christian philanthropy directed toward an isolated remnant of a race which many wrongly or rightly believe to be doomed, voices with striking encouragement to every missionary society the inspired admonition of the ancient sage: "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good."

The success, moreover, of this noble Indian in reaching the hearts of the Esquimaux with the message of life, does it not anew make plain that there is no form of barbarism so debased as to be beyond the reach of Christianity and therefore also of civilization? The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation, in the very widest sense of that term—salvation of soul and of body also. It can reach and eventually remove every species of savagery.

Hence it is the duty of the Church of Christ, aside of its strategic onslaughts upon unbelief and misbelief among the higher races of the heathen, not to neglect also those that are tending to extinction and that exercise little or no influence in the world. When successful among these, the Church will not only convey to them an unspeakable boon, and have "the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon" her; but thereby also testify to the Christless in civilized lands, that there are higher motives in this world than those which well up from the fountain of selfishness, and that there is an unquenchable and limitless power in the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God."

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

PALESTINE ABOUT THE YEAR 1400 B.C. ACCORDING TO NEW SOURCES.

(Condensed translation of an inaugural lecture of Dr. H. Zimmer, of the University of Halle, published in the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins," Band XIII. heft. 3, pp. 133-147, by Rev. Professor George H. Schodde, Ph.D., Capital University, Columbus, O.)

IN undertaking to address you this day on the condition of Palestine about the year 1400 B.C. there is need of a brief apology. It would be out of place to attempt such a description if we had at our command only those materials as sources of information, which prominent representatives of Old Testament research and of the history of the ancient Orient have used and utilized in their works. For that which we learn of the condition of Palestine in the early ages from the Old Testament, as also from Egyptian sources, has been fully and satisfactorily gathered and reproduced by competent authorities, and a new investigation on the basis of these sources alone is uncalled for. In undertaking, then, to give at least one section from the very oldest history of Palestine, I do so because just in recent times new sources have been discovered for this period, and that, too, such sources and in such a form that they have in a very peculiar sense addressed themselves to my lines of investigation, and have accordingly been of special interest to me.

You have all, no doubt, heard from time to time of the interesting finds which were made three years ago at Tell-el-Amarna, in Egypt, where several hundred letters, in cuneiform writing, and almost entirely in the Assyrian language, have been discovered. At any rate, the periodicals and papers of all descriptions have brought full details concerning these discoveries. Especial interest has been excited by the letters of Babylonian, Assyrian, and other hither-Asiatic kings addressed to the two Egyptian kings, Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. For our present purposes these letters, too, have an important bearing, since the geographical position of Palestine, between Egypt and the kingdoms of hither-Asia, made it a country the possession of which easily became an apple of contention between these great powers, since through this narrow strip all the correspondence and letters between the Euphrates and the Nile countries had to pass; but we must deal in this lecture particularly of those letters among the Tell-el-Amarna finds, which

came from Phœnicia and Palestine themselves.

The writers of these last-mentioned epistles are, as a rule, native princes, who, however, were vassals of the Egyptian kings. That these letters, which, of course, treat mainly of the inner affairs of the districts over which the writers ruled, contain a mass of valuable information on the condition of Palestine at that era, is no more than can naturally be expected. Unfortunately just these letters have in part come down to us in a mutilated form; and in some cases this is so bad that not even the general surroundings of the letters can be solved. Then, too, only a portion of these letters—namely, those in the museums of Berlin and of Bulaq, have been published; namely, by H. Winckler, in his "Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna," Berlin, 1889-90. Of the smaller, but seemingly very fair-sized number in the British Museum, only a few letters have been issued—namely, by Budge, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. x., 1887-88. However, enough has been edited of this find to give us a fairly complete general picture of the condition of Palestine and Phœnicia in the period in which these letters were written.

This period is the time of the fifteenth and the fourteenth centuries B.C.; for these letters were written at the same time when the letters of the hither-Asiatic kings were composed, i.e., in the close of the reign of Amenophis III. and in the beginning of the reign of his successor, Amenophis IV.; or, in other words, about the year 1400 B.C. Just from this period we had hitherto as good as no information from other sources; for while we have from the contents from the Annals of Thutmosis III. from the first half of the fifteenth pre-Christian century, rather fair information on the state of hither-Asia from that period, and the accounts of Rameses II. treat of the events of the fourteenth century, there exists a gap between Thutmosis III. and Rameses II. in the Egyptian reports, which gap has been filled out splendidly by these letters dating from the era of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV.

The general political status of Palestine and the surrounding lands in that period can, on the basis of these letters, be characterized to this effect, that the Egyptian supremacy did indeed officially exist, but was beginning to show signs of collapse, while the Hittites and the peoples connected with them were extending their rule farther and farther to the south and west, and were rapidly crowding Egypt out of its pre-

dominating position in Phœnicia and Palestine, and to assume the leading control of these lands. The advance of the Hittites was facilitated by the fact that a number of local princes in the north of Palestine assisted them in their undertaking. It is, indeed, true that not one as yet openly dares to raise the flag of rebellion against Egyptian supremacy in Palestine; for so powerful was yet the Egyptian name, although the rulers then on the throne did but little to maintain their authority abroad. On the contrary, the Palestine vassals in their official correspondence with the Egyptian kings all assure them of their fidelity and deepest submission; but behind the back of the king a number of them conspire in conjunction with the Hittites. In this connection these letters present an interesting picture of the constant rivalry of these princes of each other, as the vast number of small states and governments then existing in Palestine quite naturally would lead us to suppose. Accordingly the accusations against each other constantly increase, as also the letters of self-defence and justification. In order to illustrate the state of affairs, I will cite a passage from a letter of a certain *Rib-Addi*, from *Gabla* (gebāl in the Old Testament; Byblos, is Greek; *dshebel*, at present, a little to the north of Beyrut) on the Phœnician coast. The letters just of this *Rib-Addi* are especially numerous. In these he is constantly complaining concerning a certain *Abdi-Ashirti* (a name corresponding to the Hebrew *Abd-Ashera*), who like *Rib-Addi* is also a vassal of the Egyptian king, charging his neighboring prince that he is working in the interests of the Hittites in Phœnicia and Palestine and to the detriment of Egypt. This *Rib-Addi* writes, among other things, as follows: "The king, my lord, is to be informed that the enmity of *Abdi-Ashirti* against me is exceedingly strong. Now he is seeking to tear those cities which alone had been left me, out of my hands." Again he writes: "How does it happen that *Abdi-Ashirti*, the servant, tries to seize all the cities of the king, the Sun?" "A servant of the king of the land of *Mitana* and of the king of the land of *Kashsha* (a parallel reading adds of the king of the land of *Chata*; i.e., the land of the Hittites) he is, for he is trying to take the land of the king for himself." At the close of this letter *Rib-Addi* begs the king to send him a large number of troops, "in order that they can drive the enemies of the king out of the country, so that all the lands may again come into the possession of the king." This same *Abdi-Ashirti*,

who instantly declares as follows: king, and the king. And with several land of and I against my ior troops can pro-

Whi nician ments sals ai to the differe who i supren ful to design tion. these identi not; this can be menti would discu as to of the J from identi in P cially Assy Chas in th the thus the nati a ce Elii vert in 2 fait. Mil wer Egy Chi call Jer spe tior

who in these letters of *Rib-Addi* is constantly charged with conspiracy, on his side declares to the king of Egypt, in a letter, as follows: "Behold, I am a servant of the king, and a servant of his palace; the western country in its entirety I hold fast for the king, my lord, in firm protection." And with special reference to the advance of the king of the Hittites, another writes several times as follows: "The king of the land of *Chatti* is in the land of *Nushashshe*, and I am afraid of him, that he is marching against the west land, the land of the king, my lord. Therefore let the king send me troops and chariots to help me, so that I can protect the land of the king, my lord."

While pressing petitions from the Phœnician coast cities against the encroachments of the Hittites and against the vassals aiding them are sent again and again to the king of Egypt, there is another and different enemy in the south of Palestine, who is causing trouble to the Egyptian supremacy and the Palestinian vassals faithful to their sovereign. This new enemy is designated by the name of the *Chabiri* nation. It is, indeed, yet uncertain whether these *Chabire* or *Chabiri* nation are to be identified with the *Ibrim*, or Hebrews, or not; although much can be said in favor of this identification. If this identification can be proved, then these letters, in which mention is made so often of the *Chabiri*, would be of the greatest importance for the discussion of the much-ventilated questions as to the time and manner of the migration of the Hebrews into the country west of the Jordan. I add in this connection that from the philological point of view this identification is not impossible; since just in Palestinian names the *Ajin*, and especially when this letter begins a syllable, in Assyrian, is reproduced in a *Cheth*, e.g., *Chazzalu* for *Gaza*; *Chumri* for *Omri*. As in the northern parts of Palestine the way for the enemy was prepared by *Abdi-Ashirti*, thus it happened in Southern Palestine that the *Chabiri* people found a helper in the native vassals of the Egyptian king, especially a certain *Ili-Milki* (the same as the Hebrew *Elimelek*), whose name is frequently inverted to *Milki-il*. Just as *Abdi-Ashirti*, in Northern Palestine, was opposed by a faithful vassal *Rib-Addi*, then this *Ili-Milki* and his friends in Southern Palestine were opposed by a vassal faithful to the Egyptian king. This vassal's name is *Abdi-Chiba*, who writes his letters from a place called *Urusalim*, i.e., no other city than Jerusalem. This fact alone is already of special interest, that Jerusalem is mentioned by name in these texts, and that,

too, by the name by which it was known in later periods, and not, as we might expect from the statements of the Old Testament, by the name of *Jebus*. But the contents of these letters—of which there are six in the Royal Museum at Berlin—are full of rich data. It appears from these that the Jerusalem of that day was already a place of great importance among the cities of Southern Palestine, as also that the ruler of Jerusalem in that time stood in an even greater dependence from the king of Egypt than did many of the other Palestinian princes. For if the words of *Abdi-Chiba* have been correctly interpreted, he really did not occupy the position of a prince proper, as the office was not hereditary, but he held it as a present from the Egyptian king. In regard to this matter we can cite a few statements from these letters. One of them begins as follows: "To the king, my lord, from *Abdi-Chiba*, his servant. To the feet of my lord, the king, I fall down seven times. What have I done to my lord, the king? They are slandering me to my lord, the king, saying, *Abdi-Chiba* is a rebel against his lord, the king. Behold, as far as I am concerned, it was not my father nor my mother that put me into this place, but it was the arm of the mighty king who has caused me to enter into my father's house. Why should I sin against my lord king? As long as the lord, my king, lives, I say to the messenger of the king, my lord, Why do ye favor the *Chabiri* people and are hostile to the prefects?" The concluding words of this letter are these: "All the prefects have been destroyed; for there is none left of the prefects of the lord, my king. Therefore may the king turn his face to his people and send troops from the garrisons of my lord, the king. There are none left of the land of the lord, my king. The *Chabiri* people have plundered the lands of the king. If troops can yet come in this year, then the lands of the king can yet be preserved; but if no troops are sent, then there will be no more lands and no more prefects of the lord, my king. Behold, as far as the land of this city of Jerusalem is concerned, it was not my father nor my mother who gave it to me; it was the arm [of the mighty king] who gave it to me. Behold, this deed is a deed of *Milki-il* and a deed of *Lapapi*, who are handing over this country to the *Chabiri* people." The concluding words of the letter are these: "Behold, the king has established his name upon the land of Jerusalem forever; therefore he cannot desert the land of the city of Jerusalem!"

A further letter of *Abdi-Chiba* begins

with the customary words: "Behold, the king, my lord, has established his name at the rising of the sun and at the setting of the sun. Behold, I am not a præfect, but an *amel* of the king, my lord; behold, I am an *amel* of the king and one who brings tribute to the king. It was not my father nor my mother, but the arm of the mighty king that has placed me in my father's house." Farther on in the letter he says: "If only a ship is on the sea, then the arm of the mighty king takes into his possession the land of *Narima* (Euphrates land) and the land of the *Kasi* (Babylon). And shall now the *Chabiri* people take the cities of the king? There is not one præfect left of the king, my lord; all have been destroyed. Therefore let the king direct his face to his people and help the lands and send troops. If troops do not arrive this year yet, then all the lands of the lord, my king, will be lost." Finally, a last letter of *Abdi-Chiba*, after the customary opening formula, continues as follows: "Behold the deeds which *Mikibu* and *Shu-ardatum* have done against the land of the lord, my king. They have caused the armies of the city *Gazri* (i.e., Geser), the armies of the city of *Gimti* (i.e., Gath), and the armies of the city of *Kilti* (i.e., probably Kigela) to march out, and they have captured the territory of the city of *Rubute* (i.e., probably Rabba of Jos. xv. 60). The land has been given over to the *Chabiri* people, but now yet is added as a city of the territory of Jerusalem, the city of *Bit-Ninip* = *Shumasu* (i.e., Beth Shemes[?]), a city of the king, has fallen into the hands of the enemy, as also the people of *Kilti*. Therefore may the king listen to *Abdi-Chiba*, his servant, and send troops, so that I can conquer again the land of the king for the king. But if no troops are sent, then the land of the king will fall into the hands of the *Chabiri* people."

I have intentionally given you some longer extracts of these letters from Jerusalem, in order to enable you to form your own judgment as to the historical value of these letters. It, of course, must be acknowledged that a final and in every way satisfactory judgment just of these letters cannot yet be expected. At all events, a fuller examination of other texts must yet determine who the *Chabiri* people are. Possibly the yet unpublished texts will contain some letters written by the *Chabiri* friend, *Milki-il*. If it should prove to be true that the *Chabiri* are the Hebrews, then the context of the Hebrews with the *Adonibese* (as the textual criticism of Judges i. correctly

reads) will appear in an altogether new light.

Having, then, in two characteristic examples from the farthest north and the extreme south of Palestine shown you how these letters give new light on the history of Palestine at that early period, it would be in place to add also some extracts from the kings of the Babylonians to Amenophis IV., which also deal of the status of Palestine. However, we have as yet only one such letter—namely, that of King *Burraburjash*, in which the Babylonian king asks the king of Egypt not to lend his ear to those Assyrians who have come to him to complain and to seek to become independent of the Babylonian authority; assigning as a reason that on a previous occasion his own father, the king of Babylonia, had not listened to certain Egyptian rebels.

These letters, too, contain much good material for the historical geography of Palestine, as it mentions a great many names of cities whose existence at so early a date is not known from other sources of an equally early date. In many respects the Tell-el-Amarna finds have also shed new light on the state of civilization in Palestine in those times. Who would have thought of it, that in the year 1400 B.C. a prince of Jerusalem would send a letter to an Egyptian king in Babylonian cuneiform writing. The natural supposition would have been that such a correspondence would have been conducted in the Egyptian language; but it now appears that the Babylonian was at that early period the official language of diplomacy, and this fact testifies strongly of the early influence of Babylonian culture in Western Asia. This gives us an entirely new perspective of the influence of Babylonian ideas on the Old Testament literature, even in the times preceding the Kings and the Exile. Then, too, the many proper names found in these letters gives us new material for the study of the religion of the Gentile Canaanites.

THE PLACE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER IN POLITICS.

I.

BY THE REV. CANON BARKER, M.A., RECTOR OF MARYLEBONE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), December, 1891.

It appears to me that the place of the Christian minister in politics is an important and foremost one. I would distinguish be-

tween politics and party politics; with the latter, as such, he should have little to do. He is chiefly concerned in good government, in the moral and spiritual reformation and improvement of the people; and so far as politics have to do with these, he should exercise his influence to the fullest extent. In these days particularly the Christian minister has important duties to perform in the sphere of politics. He has, as far as his influence reaches, to endeavour to raise the tone of political life, to see in the first instance that such men represent constituencies whose character, as far as can be ascertained, is above reproach, and then that they are men inspired with a real moral earnestness, who are seeking a political life not for amusement, excitement, or anything else but the real progress of the people. The Christian minister can and ought to exercise his influence in the selection of candidates for Parliament. As most questions are now more or less political, I do not see how a Christian minister who cares about his religion and his country can hold aloof from politics. Take, for instance, the whole range of social reform, including education, temperance, purity, sanitation, and all that concerns the future welfare of the people. Perhaps no body of men could exercise greater influence in promoting these reforms than Christian ministers, and if working for these brings them in close contact with politics, that cannot be helped, and would not be a good thing if it could. I do not think it is the duty or the place of a Christian minister to be stumping the country on political platforms. His place is among his own people, and to them he should make his political views clearly known, and among them quietly and as occasion arises it is his duty to express and explain his views on great public questions. If he resides among a working-class population, his time would be well spent in giving instruction upon political economy and political science in general. I am wholly opposed to introducing politics, even remotely, into the pulpit. On the whole, then, the Christian minister, like any other citizen, should take his part in the great political controversies of the day, and do his best to promote such a settlement of them as will in his judgment promote the highest interests of the people.

I have no sympathy with those who think that the Christian minister must concern himself only with those matters which relate to the future world. This world is something, even though it is passing away, and its interests and concerns monopolize

a large proportion of men's thoughts, and to have no sympathy with them is simply to be uninfluential. In my judgment, the main cause of the comparative little influence, in proportion to its numbers and education, of the Christian ministry, is that the people feel that they are not understood by it. Men must be reached by sympathy, and to stand outside all that interests and concerns them, is practically to be useless to them morally or spiritually. The Christian ministry holds a unique position for leavening all classes with higher sentiments and ideals, for softening the acerbities of political life, for rounding the angularities of character and opinion. All that concerns man concerns the Christian minister, and in these days how active and eager are all men—how strong is the tide of new ideas, new aspirations, new desires. We are in one of the great transition times of history. The old is passing away, and the new is coming into view. With the vast increase of population, wealth, and enterprise, new problems arise, affecting capital, labor, and all the higher interests of man. Questions of intense interest present themselves for solution—how can more share in the common weal of the realm? how can ignorance and pauperism be lessened? how can self-respect and self-dependence be more deeply implanted in the breasts of all classes? how can the spiritual nature of the people be developed and deepened? All these are political questions, and the Christian minister away from personal and selfish interest can play a great part in helping to solve these questions. His sympathy, his ministry itself, his mission, all alike point him out as a great force in such matters. His voice, his presence, his pen, should always be at the service of the weak, the struggling, and the ignorant. Questions which affect them, such as education, temperance, thrift, purity, self control, should be his questions. The rights of the poor, the rights of labor, the rights of women, should be his rights. The place the Great Master took in all that concerned the people is an example to his ministers. He went about doing them good. The common people heard him gladly. To the poor he preached the gospel of brotherhood, peace and good will. When the Christian minister is on the side of the rich, the privileged, the powerful, so far as they militate against the progress of the people upwards, he is on the wrong side. His place is a middle one, reconciling classes, bridging over parties, conciliating opposing forces, endeavouring to preserve, pure and un-

sullied, the abstract principles of right, justice, and truth. If the Christian minister would hold such a position, he would become a powerful influence for good in the State, being able to act as arbitrator in questions of dispute, to advise in difficulties, and to guide in emergencies. May the Church of the future be marked by greater sympathy with the poor and suffering, by lifting the human more to the level of the divine, by making the dividing line between nature and religion less and less deep and sharp. Then would the Church occupy a glorious position, sharing in all the interests, pleasures, progresses of the nation, being one with, and not separate as a class from the great seething eager mass of humanity, bringing back all men to that ideal held aloft by the Great Divine Politician that all are brethren. When the Church forgets her own interests, her own ambitions, her own position, and is lost in the miseries and wants and trials and sufferings of the world, she will then be the strongest, the most blessed and most glorious influence in this world of God.

W. BARKER.

II.

THE REV. W. TUCKWELL.

"There are no snakes in Iceland" is a not uncommon solution of the problem. And if by politics is meant the vulgarity of Party strife—the ignoble fight between kites and crows, warring under the name of Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Liberals, for domination over the poultry—the answer is conclusive in the case of all good men; of parsons, who are good by Act of Parliament, among the rest. But to the great Greek philosophers who coined the word twenty-five centuries ago, as to the nobler statesmen who employ it now, politics was the science of human happiness: and since in our own land the few are happy to the extent of material well-being, the many forlorn and miserable by reason of foul homes, overwork, underpay, here in England politics has come to mean social and industrial reform, the elevation of our prostrate masses from poverty and slavery into competence and freedom.

There are then snakes in Iceland: there is a place in politics for the parson. The parson knows professionally, as few others know, the condition of his submerged brethren; their habits, their grievances, their needs, are strewn around his daily path; he is, by virtue of his office, an adept in what Dean Mansel used to call ptochology,

the science which estimates and classifies pauperage, mendicancy, unemploy. Nor yet an adept merely; carrying the flag of a Gospel preached to the poor, he is emphatically the champion of the poor. A mission he has no doubt to the "poor rich men" of whom Burke speaks; but his message there is often the reverse of friendly—a reminder of the rich fool's doom, of the camel and the needle's eye, of the flame-tortured Dives, of the command to sell all and give, of the Apostolic community of goods. The rich have many friends; the poor have none, except the Carpenter's Son, who knew not where to lay His head, and His representatives from age to age, the credentials of whose embassy are written in their tender resemblance to their Master.

"The parson's business is to preach."

Yes—but to preach what? It was a saying of Arnold Toynbee that the pastor who would hope to further religious development must begin by preaching social reform. The aphorism "drops truth distinct and clear." I remember, many years ago, attending a clerical meeting in the large town where I had just begun to work, convened to discuss the spiritual darkness of certain outlying suburbs. It was proposed with unction, and determined with complacency, that on successive Sundays a cart should go round these benighted districts and leave at every door a Bible, or a prayer book, or a hymn book. There was an old white-haired clergyman present, whose life had been spent in these back streets, and he rose to urge a rider to the motion. "Your resolve is good," he said, "but it is insufficient. You must first send round your cart upon successive Saturdays, laden, not with Bible, prayer book, hymn book, but with legs of mutton and with rounds of beef, and loaves of bread, and pounds of tea, for these poor things are starving, and starvation is a soil in which piety will not grow." I was a very young curate at the time, and, like all the very young curates I have ever met, I was exceedingly ignorant and foolish, and I thought the old man's carnal plea irreverent; but a year of slumming taught me that it was profoundly wise and true. Deep down in the hearts of the most degraded class is the *jashub* of Isaiah and Micah—political parsons both—the germinal "remnant" of purity and goodness which would still reflect, could illumination reach it, the image of its Creator; but an overlying mass of social misery cuts off its light and chokes its growth, and the first duty of Christ's

minister must be to shovel away this hindering, festering, deadening heap, that light and air may penetrate the germ and suffer the dead men to arise.

The parson then is to preach reform. Shall his medium be the pulpit or the platform? Hardly the pulpit, as to-day interpreted and accepted. The free handling of subjects which Pharisaism chooses to call "secular"; the sparkle, anecdote, humour, comedy, essential to the popular enlightenment of difficult and complicated problems, would revolt a generation stiffened by three centuries of conventional synagogism. If Latimer were to preach his Sermon on the Card in a modern West End church, the churchwardens would present him to the bishop. And were it otherwise, the pulpit fails to reach the class which needs the "authentic gospel" of formulated discontent and organized remonstrance. Our churches are peopled by respectability, and respectability is no longer the centre of political and social gravity. The ultimate power of the realm resides not with the church-going *Ingenui*, but with the slum-haunting *Proletarii*; the throne of England rests upon the ballot-box. Now the Proletarian is drawn to the platform. In large town, small town, village, the political meeting has to-day no rival in attractiveness, and the feeling which crowds the rooms is no longer primarily partisan; it still clusters round the Parliamentary candidate or member, but its motive is desire for education, discernment of the new meaning of politics, appreciation of its perplexities, eager craving for, and grateful acceptance of, utterances instinct with sympathetic knowledge and sped by rhetorical power. And an increasing number of speakers is rising to the new demand. Iteration of the "Liberal party," clap-trap citations of "our great leader's" name, vulgar abuse of opponents, local or personal allusions, become less frequent year by year. The condition of England, the cruel disabilities of the men whose labours make it great, the causes and the remedies of their sufferings, are handled with wide knowledge and experience of our own and other lands, with clear investigation and patient argument, often in a tone of deep religious feeling which bids fair to set the platform higher than the pulpit. I listened to such a speech not long ago. The inner life of our towns and villages was described from personal knowledge; the anomalies of land, labour, education, local government, religious endowment, Parliamentary machinery, were dissected, with condensed scrutiny and with

audacious frankness. There was no lack of humour to relieve the pathos or the denunciation; laughter alternated with cheers amongst the audience; but over the whole deliverance brooded a Christ-like tenderness of sympathy, and it closed with a grand Scripture peroration. The strong emotion to which the hearers had been lifted survived the routine utterance of compliments which ensued. The chairman called for "God save the Queen." There was no response; a single note from the platform began, and fluttered, solitary and broken-winged to the ground. "Let us sing the Doxology," said a strong voice amongst the crowd, and the great burst of praise to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost gave fit expression to the pent up religious feeling which politics, rightly understood and preached, had engendered in all our hearts.

I say that this is parsons' work. I say that the clergy of the Established Church, whose progress through past history is paved with forfeited opportunities, are wasting this, the most fruitful, and perhaps the last. The country parson sees in the village where he claims spiritual chieftainship as God's viceroy, foul rookeries in which a single bedroom holds eight inmates, open drains generating typhoid centres: let him in pulpit, village meeting, local press, placard the villainy of cottage-owners and the neglect of sanitary authorities! He knows the labourer's wage to be barely half the sum on which a growing family can be maintained in decency and comfort; let him initiate practical reform by extensive and equitable allotments; let him master the history of our land laws, compare the agrarian prosperity of other countries with our own agrarian pauperism; plead and champion the changes to which his knowledge and his reasoning point, regardless of the anger of Dives, merciful to Lazarus' sores. The town parson is brought face to face with the crimes of industrial monopoly—employers in homes spacious, luxurious, sanitary, commanding leisure and resource; workmen housed in crowded cottages, breathing tainted air, cut off by daily overwork from all appetite for healthy self-improvement, rebelling ever and anon in wasteful strikes, or storing up a sullen anger which will some day break in revolution. In the political troubles of 1848, two clergymen were the trusted advisers of the English malcontents; that civil war and bloodshed were averted was due in no small measure to their counsel and their influence; the relation of Maurice and Kingsley to the London Chartists then should be the

attitude of every urban clergyman to-day to the workmen, trades unionists, socialists of the town where he assumes that God has placed him. If Christ were to come among us now, with whom would He consort? With capitalists, employers, land-owners, leaders of the religious world? or with starveling outcasts, shivering unemployed, criminals whom society has begotten into or driven into crime, labourers to whom it holds out the workhouse as the meed of life-long wealth producing toil? Read Lowell's "Parable," and see! These enigmas constitute politics—politics in the highest, truest sense. God's kingdom cannot come on earth until they be faced, interpreted, answered, solved.

How dares the parson stand aloof from them? All things combine to fit him for the part of *Œdipus* to the Sphinx which lowers over our community. His worldly position is secure; behind his inalienable home and stipend he can defy the threats of power which his championship of the oppressed provokes. When class collides with mass, he is the born intercessory arbitrator between them; belonging to the one by privileged and educational rank, to the other by ordained Christian brotherhood. Viewed by the rich with a respect sometimes genuine, always formally effective, his prestige with the poor is not so far extinct but that awakened perception of his duty would revive it. He holds position and endowment in trust as officer of a church, national to include the masses, cultured to instruct them. If he herds only with the privileged, if he shrinks from the sociological and economic problems which press most exactly on scientific acquirement, his claim to exist is at an end, he will have wooed the extinction which menaces his order.

How shall we explain parsonic apathy? Why is it that, when society is stirred to its centre with revolutionary movements, the accredited religious and educational leaders of society ignore them? that the so-called Radical parsons—the men who grapple with domestic sordor, who take part in industrial convulsions, pioneer allotments, stand forth on platforms to denounce high-placed evil-doers and to make mute suffering articulate—are mere scattered Abdiels in the great host of their compeers? The reason is, I think, threefold:

1. History includes, among the evil incidents of a religious establishment, that its officials almost of necessity consort, obsequiously or fraternally, with the well-to-do; the self-forgetfulness of missionary zeal is

cramped by the chain of social rank; men set their establishment above their Church, and so, inevitably, their Church above their Christ. As creeds are formulated to reinforce a faith which has become conventional, so establishments are constructed to buttress tottering Churches. A Church established by Act of Parliament is a creature of wax and parchment; a Church established in a nation's heart is a manifest ambassador of the Most High.

2. Sociology is not among the subjects taught at public schools and universities. As regards the vital interests of the day—the land question, the industrial question, the fissures and settlements in our social edifice, the massing of the labour-hosts for organised revolt—the Common-rooms are up in a balloon, the political economy of the *Tripes* is obsolete; the golden youth of the public school, the gilded youth of the grammar school, learn to divide their fellows into "gentlemen and cads" by a line drawn on the southern boundary of the "liberal professions." Thus untaught, thus prepossessed, the fledgling parson enters on his mission, an Ovid among the Goths, prepared indeed to look upon the "working class" as spiritual harvest ripening for the sickle of the "Church," but having no more solidarity amongst them, fellowship with their wrongs, comprehension of their grievances, needs, aims, than has the serene angel in the front of All Souls' College with the wasters weltering in purgatory down below. "O God, make these poor women contented with their lot," was the weekly prayer of a country rectress in opening her mothers' meeting.

3. The parson who imitates Christ has a heavy penalty to pay. He is secure against the starvational ruin which the anger of employer, landlord, farmer, can wreak upon the offending hind; but he is vulnerable in other points. He has a wife and daughters possibly, capable of emitting shrieks at exclusion from the squire's dinner table and the tennis lawns of the gentry round about, at the gravel path unfurrowed by wheels of carriage callers, the girls partnerless at county balls. Or social vengeance takes a subtler form and appeals to finer scruples. His village is materially well equipped, the squire has built him a reading room, the farmers support his schools, the parish aristocracy each Sunday fills its cushioned pews and imitative cottagers follow it; the well-filled church is soothing to his clerical self-respect, the bountiful collections support his choir, keep his churchyard trim, relieve his sick and needy. But he knows the

tenure of his parochial prosperity; his share in the bargain with good-natured Mammon is unwritten but well-defined—"All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." If he breaks the compact, all are taken from him; not only are kindly greetings supplanted by a scowl, the touched hat by an averted face; not only is he vilified in provincial newspapers, persecuted by anonymous letters, cut by old school-fellows in the street, but his church is emptied, his offertories dwindle, his improvement schemes, concert, lecture, dance, are thwarted, and the stream of his alms is dried. Piteous letters came from parsons when the protest against Irish evictions was sent round for clerical signature three years ago. Sad confessions encounter me on my missionary journeys from clergymen who come stealthily to say how they applaud and envy the line I take, yet shrink from it, not on their own account, but for the sake of parish and of poor on whom their independence would be visited.

Toward Naaman bowing in the house of Rimmon, toward Nicodemus coming to Christ by night, we all feel lenient; but they are not the raw material out of which martyrdoms are refined. And so it will be said that my answer to the question which heads this paper resolves itself into an indictment of the clergy. Be it so. I plead that a Christian church exists primarily for the sake of the oppressed, the poor, the people; that a professed messenger of Christ ought to find his scope and satiate his enthusiasm amongst Publicans and sinners rather than amongst Scribes and Pharisees; that a class endowed with exclusive prerogative and wealth as appanages to spiritual leadership of a great nation is bound to justify its monopoly by sagacious intervention, by mediatorial adroitness, if necessary by self-sacrificing leadership. I say that the Anglican clergy, as a body, tried by all these tests, has failed; failed—as it failed in the Lollard upheaval of the fourteenth century, in the Wesley revival of the eighteenth; failed, as in the dockers' strike of two years back, in the village movement of to-day. It is not too late for repentance; but the sands are running out.

W. TUCKWELL.

III.

THE REV. J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

The Nonconformist minister is a politician *malgre lui*. He may carefully eschew all political association, he may never be

seen at a meeting which has even a quasi-political character, he may never express an opinion on any of the questions of the hour, and may, in fact, regard politics with that curious kind of holy horror which we find in certain pietists, but all this does not free him from the taint he so much dreads. His ministry is itself a standing protest against a prerogative which the State has unjustly arrogated to itself. The true nature of Nonconformity is strangely misconceived by numbers. There are some religious differences in the United States as among ourselves, but while our American cousins and our Colonial kindred, too, are divided into Episcopalians and Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians, Baptists and Pædo-Baptists, as we are, there are among them no Nonconformists. The State assumes no right to establish a Church or to set up a standard of orthodoxy, and consequently the distinction which is a line of cleavage through all classes of society is absolutely unknown. Dissent is therefore distinctly a political action, based, it may be, on religious grounds, but not the less on that account a civic proceeding.

But the question of Disestablishment does not occupy the whole field of politics, although it extends much further than is generally understood. It is intimately related to most of those social reforms which are destined to absorb so much thought and attention in the future, and in which the ministers of the Gospel cannot afford to be neutral, unless they are prepared to see Christianity treated as a spent and useless force. This applies to the leaders of all churches, but the Nonconformist minister in particular will best promote the principles in whose success he is specially interested if his whole political conduct shows that he advocates them on broad national grounds, for the good of the people rather than for the redress of some sectarian wrong.

The question which every minister has to decide for himself is how he can best render that service to humanity which is the true service of God. In the present state of society, and with the tendencies which are daily gathering new strength, it is simply impossible that he can fulfil his duty either to God or to his neighbour if he eschew politics. There are various considerations that might tempt him to adopt such a course, and some of them cannot be regarded as ignoble. There is much in political life that repels men of scrupulous honour and fastidious honour, and which must be far more offensive to one of deep religious feeling. But it is not to be supposed that a

Christian man should become the slave of a party, imbibing all its prejudices, committing himself to a blind approval of all its procedure, and sacrificing everything to secure its triumph. If a politician is to effect any good, he must belong to a party, but it is not necessary that he should therefore be a bigoted partisan. Experience has taught me to have little faith in those superior persons who ostentatiously proclaim their independence of all party ties, and who by their candid criticisms, especially in crises of difficulty, do more injury to the cause to which they profess allegiance than its avowed and active foes. But all confederacies—political at least as much as any other—are all the better for having in them some who are not blind to their faults, and not afraid to attempt the difficult task of correcting them. This is the element which Christian ministers may well supply. I remember Mr. John Morley once saying how valuable were the criticisms of the "uninitiated" to those who are in the thick of the fight. We are, and may well be content to be, among the "uninitiated." With the personal jealousies and petty intrigues, the disappointed ambitions and tortuous policies which demoralize and degrade political life, we are not complicated. At all events we may safely say that we have no personal objects to serve, and are therefore free from the bias of self-interest. We look at questions with more singleness of eye, and we contemplate them from a different standpoint from that of the combatants themselves. Hence there is a freshness of thought which to those of more experience may look like the verdure of innocence, but which, nevertheless, has a distinct value. What, however, is the distinctive point, and that of the highest importance, is that the Christian minister has a different test by which to prove all things, and as he professes to be under the government of higher principles, has counsels to give altogether different from those of a worldly policy, however noble may be its aims.

How he can best render this service is a question of even more difficulty. It is an established belief in some circles that Nonconformist ministers are in the habit of using their pulpits for political purposes. My own knowledge, which is tolerably extensive, of Congregational practice at all events, leads me to say that if they did they would soon have no pulpits to use. There have been occasional departures from the ordinary practice in great crises, when the issues involved have lain outside the lines of party warfare, but sermons that can

properly be described as political are extremely rare, and I sincerely hope they will be even rarer.

In these I do not include discourses, expounding and enforcing the law of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. A Christian minister can hardly omit these if he is to declare the whole counsel of God. The time and manner in which it can best be done must be determined by his own conscience, and in deciding such points he will show proper regard to the "proportion of faith," and be careful that the proclamation of the Gospel of the Divine Love be the leading theme of his ministry. But he has to preach Christ Jesus Lord as well as Saviour, and his ministry cannot be effective and complete in this particular unless the laws of His kingdom in relation to every department of human action be clearly laid down. There is a crying need for a teaching that shall deal faithfully with the common things of life. If we were to believe a good deal of talk upon the subject, this is the very teaching which the world is demanding from the pulpit. I greatly doubt it. There is a certain style of practical preaching for which numbers clamour, but in order to meet their views it would need to be very limited in its range and guarded in its character. It must be careful not to offend prejudice, and in order to this it must be very chary in setting forth unpopular truths or attacking fashionable sins. But these are just the points which the loyal servant of Christ needs to emphasize, and if he does this he will hardly escape censure as a political preacher. He will deserve it only if he descends from the inculcation of Christ's law and turns His pulpit into a platform for the advocacy of party aims and interests.

The necessity for maintaining this distinction becomes all the more imperative with the increasing prominence given to social questions. Christian ministers cannot keep clear of them, and yet it will need great delicacy in the handling of them if they are to escape the imputation of being the champions of a class. It is very easy to indulge in mere platitudes, and as unsatisfactory and profitless as it would be easy. Men are too deeply in earnest on these subjects to be put off by well-turned phrases or high-sounding sentiments which mean much or little. The man who is to secure respect for his teaching must have definite ideas, and must not shrink from expressing them at whatever cost of personal popularity.

On the Nonconformist minister the call

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to wise action is so urgent as to be almost irresistible, since he is a representative of a system which is essentially democratic. A minister of Him whose glory it was that to the poor the Gospel is preached, ought to be popular in his sympathies. A Nonconformist minister is bound alike by his principles and traditions to the cause of the people. He will, indeed, I venture to think, make a serious mistake if, without any special qualification for the task, he undertakes to pronounce dogmatically on the various points of difference that are continually arising between employers and employed. The broad principles by which the relations between these two classes ought to be governed may be plain enough to every one who accepts the New Testament as a guide, but the application of them to the special condition of any trade controversy may not be so simple. The first are within the reach of every honest student, and on them a Christian minister is entitled to speak with some authority, but for the other the skill of an expert is required. A friend of mine was recently asked to mediate between an employer and his workpeople, who were on strike, and as he was trusted on both sides, he undertook the task with great hopefulness. But he soon discovered his mistake. Both parties were ready to agree on general principles; it was only when they came to their application to the special points at issue that the difference arose, and here my friend, though a man of ability and considerable experience of life, was quite unable to help, as most of his brethren would have been in like circumstances. The fact, however, that there are questions which must be referred to experts does not exempt Christian ministers from insisting on that law of Christian brotherhood to which all owe subjection, and by which all these relations should be governed. Without invading the province of others, there is a sphere of their own which they ought carefully to cultivate. Theirs should be a sweetening and healing influence helping to correct the mistakes, remove the prejudices, and soften the asperities of the contending parties, teaching each to recognise the good that is in the other, and repressing the vehemence of angry and excited partisans.

The people look, and look rightly, to Nonconformist ministers for full and ungrudging sympathy. But this will not be best shown by fostering class passions, unjust in themselves, and certain to be mischievous in their results. If they will look at the whole subject in a devout yet reso-

lute spirit, resolved to face any possible amount of obloquy in their endeavour to raise the tone of political life to bring all public affairs under the sway of Christian principle, and to weld together different classes in the bonds of a true brotherhood, they will not only serve their own generation, but do the will of God.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

IV.

REV. F. W. MACDONALD.

The grounds on which I have heard it maintained that Christian ministers should take an active part in politics are of the following kind:

The minister of religion is a citizen, and should exercise the full rights and privileges of citizenship. Citizenship, indeed, rightly regarded, is a sacred thing, and belongs to the divine order or plan of human affairs. The hackneyed distinction between sacred things and secular is, for the most part, false and misleading, and it is not for the Christian minister to give any sanction to the poor and narrow view of life that such a distinction implies. The minister must not be less of a citizen than his neighbour. On his lips the words "*civis sum*," should mean all that they can mean on any lips. And, seeing that citizenship involves responsibilities and duties, as well as privileges and rights, he is bound to fulfil them as completely as possible, not a small portion of them only, but the whole. Plainly, the State cannot afford that any class of citizens should keep aloof from public affairs, least of all a class that is presumably above the average in respect of intelligence and character.

Moreover, the Christian minister is, or should be, a teacher of righteousness. All political questions are, sooner or later, moral questions. From municipal bye-laws to the most momentous decisions of Parliament, everything has its moral aspect, and must ultimately be submitted to the tests of right and wrong, and judged as that which ought, or ought not, to be. Here is the opportunity, the special function, of the minister of religion. It is for him to apply to the shifting issues of the day "the eternal laws of truth and right," to stimulate and instruct the public conscience, to see to it that evil is not sanctioned, or iniquity hushed up, and generally, that the devil does not have his own way with princes, parliaments, and people.

This view of the Christian minister's rela-

tion to politics may be much more impressively put than I have put it, but whether these considerations, and others that might be added, are sufficient to sanction the career of the political parson may be doubted. There is another side to the matter, and another series of considerations to be weighed.

Granting all that can be said of the dignity of citizenship, it does not follow that it is wise for a minister of religion to exercise all its functions. True he is a citizen, but of a class that possesses special privileges and duties differentiating him from his fellow citizens. As a minister of the Gospel, and shepherd and bishop of souls, his vocation may well require the sacrifice of some things, and a prudential avoidance of others. If all things are lawful for him, all things may not be expedient. He is not the only man who, for the sake of a chosen life-work, gives up what otherwise would be well within his rights. If, for example, it is on the whole better that a judge, though possessing exceptional powers and a trained mind, should take no part in politics, it is, to say the least, conceivable that a minister of religion would do well to limit himself in a similar way. If it is desirable to preserve the judicial mind from the perturbations of political strife, and the judicial office from being associated with political interests, it may be equally desirable in the case of a Christian minister and his ministry. The more I think of it, the more inclined I am to think that this is so. There will from time to time be exceptional men and exceptional circumstances, but, as a rule, I believe that for the efficient discharge of a man's office as preacher and pastor, he must be willing to forego political life, and that any loss to the community which this sacrifice entails will be more than compensated by its advantages. Some men are big enough and strong enough to do anything, but most men are not. Here and there one may find a minister who can attend caucus meetings, and fight elections, and write fiery leading articles without loss of temper, or fairness, or devotion to the most spiritual aspects of his ministry. Here and there one may find him, but satisfaction at the sight is tempered by the thought that his success has tempted many a weaker brother to a course which, in his case, was little less than disastrous. The duties of the Christian ministry are so numerous, and the opportunities for good work which it affords so abundant, that few men can adequately cover them, and at the same time spread themselves over the field of politics.

I fear, moreover, that there is something

flattering and deceptive in the minister's notion that his presence amongst politicians will lift politics appreciably nearer heaven. He intends it shall be so, he thinks it will be so, but, as a matter of fact, it does not necessarily happen. On the contrary, his appearance in a political conflict not seldom makes things hotter and bitterer all round. He is so conscious of his own integrity of motive, so liable to think that those who are opposed to him are fighting against God, that he becomes a dangerous ally, and a peculiarly exasperating opponent. So far as I have observed, the general run, even of keen politicians, greatly dislike all political parsons except those of their own way of thinking. If there is one person that exhausts the patience of an Anglican Conservative, it is a Dissenting minister on the political warpath. On the other hand, if ever the milk of human kindness dries up in the breast of a Radical Dissenter, it is at the mention of the Conservative parson and his gambols at a Primrose League Meeting. And surely to the average Protestant the spectacle of the Roman Catholic priest leading his flock to the poll, or shaking his blackthorn in the face of the hostile candidate, is not one that makes for peace and good-will. Most men in politics seem to think that the parsons *on the other side* at least would do better to mind their own work, and, if severely pressed, it would hardly be easy for them to show why their own man should not do the same.

There is often a striking contrast between the good sense and good feeling of the parson in the sphere of his pastorate, and his sweeping, unbalanced ways in the sphere of politics. Rome, Geneva, and Canterbury could furnish abundant illustrations. The mischievous exercise of political power by excellent men—divines, scholars, and saints—is "writ large" on the page of history. We have it on the authority of Lord Clarendon, quoted with approval by Mr. Stead, that the clergy are a class of men "who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can read and write." I think this is an exaggeration. For myself, I should have put it far less strongly, although, when human affairs are concerned, Lord Clarendon, endorsed by Mr. Stead, is not to be lightly set aside.

Perhaps the explanation of this severe judgment is not far to seek. There is such a thing as the clerical cast of mind, which, though often ridiculed, is, I think, the legitimate product of the clerical vocation. The minister of religion is a moral and

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spiritual teacher, a brotherly overseer and guide, not a disputant, a debater, a man accustomed to contradiction and criticism, a giver and receiver of knocks. He is, and I venture to add, he ought to be, dogmatic in the best sense of the word, the herald and witness of truths that are not for him open or speculative questions, but Divinely given truths that have been written on his own soul by the finger of God. In his ordinary ministry he is accustomed to assume their truth. It remains for him to press their consequences and practical applications upon his hearers, and in proportion to his spiritual insight and moral weight, he will speak "as one having authority."

But when he steps across the road to make a speech for or against the Government of the day, the characteristic habit of his mind may be seen working, by no means to advantage, in another sphere, and under other conditions. He has carried with him his fervor, his fearlessness, his gift of impassioned utterance, but he uses them on questions where he has no special weight of knowledge or exceptional insight to correspond with his tone and style. His temptation is to run to superlatives, to be confident that he is entirely right and his opponents utterly wrong, to be more sweeping in his denunciations, and more unguarded in his eulogies than the veriest party hack, making the worldly-minded politician raise his eyebrows and smile inwardly, and giving occasion to Lord Clarendon and Mr. Stead to jibe at the clergy at large.

On the whole, then, I think that the parson is better out of politics. The vast majority of them would better serve the State by preaching the Gospel, and teaching the young, by visiting the sick and sorrowful, and ministering to the poor, by raising the fallen, and strengthening the tempted and weak, than by serving on political committees, attending Liberal or Conservative Associations, and making rattling speeches either for or against "Home Rule for England," "Allotments for poor clerks," "Disproportionate Representation," and the like. Questions like these may have a moral aspect, and the parson may say that nothing that concerns righteousness is indifferent to him. But there are louder calls and more obvious duties for him than these suggest. Let him attend to them.

I have not said, I do not say, that under no circumstances should a Christian minister take active part in politics. But I be-

lieve that the occasions are not many, and that the men are very few who will not do more harm than good by leaving the quiet paths of ordinary ministerial duty to take part in political life.

FREDERICK W. MACDONALD.

V.

REV. CANON WILBERFORCE.

Canon Wilberforce has contributed a letter to this discussion, replying to certain questions which we submitted to him in the following terms :

1. Do you consider that the clergy of all denominations are wise and right in interesting themselves in the great political questions of the day ?

2. If your reply is in the affirmative, in what manner and to what extent do you think that they should make their influence felt ?

3. Do you consider that the intervention of the clergy in politics in the past has been a blessing or otherwise in the life of the nation ?

4. In your answers to the above questions, do you find it necessary to differentiate between the action of the clergy of the Established Church and the ministers of other bodies ?

MY DEAR SIR,—I should reply briefly to your four questions as follows :

1. Inasmuch as "politics" are the morals of the nation, I consider that the oft-repeated aphorism, that the accredited ministers of religion overstep their functions when they actively participate in the political struggles of the time, is both shallow and mischievous. If the clergy of all denominations abstain from influencing the political life of the nation, the mainsprings of national progress are likely to become unspiritualized.

2. The extent to which their influence should be exerted will depend entirely upon circumstances, and should be in the support of principles without regard to parties.

I consider that the sacred ministry, so far from emancipating an intelligent Englishman from participating in the responsibilities of political life, accentuates his obligations as a citizen of heaven to raise his voice against State-permitted vices which tend to undermine the stability of the commonwealth ; and, though he may lose popularity among lukewarm temporizers, who would prefer to hear in their pulpits echoes of their own opinions, his ministry unques-

tionably gains in real power if he has the courage solemnly to proclaim, even in the midst of the excitement of a contested election, the responsibility before God of the exercise of the franchise in connection with such blots upon Christian civilization as the Indian opium revenue, the demoralizing bane of the liquor traffic, the inadequate protection of the purity of women, and the oppression of weaker people, without courting the favour or shrinking from the displeasure of any political party, however powerful.

3. It is not easy to define what has and what has not been a blessing in the past life of the nation, inasmuch as the eternal purpose works behind all the multitudinous activities of national life, and in that eternal purpose all things work together for ultimate good.

4. I see no necessity for the differentiation suggested. The presence of Bishops in the House of Lords and their complete freedom to debate and vote upon every question affecting the welfare of the nation is a sufficient indication that the abstention of her ordained ministry from the political issues of the day is not the theory of the Church of England.

I am, faithfully yours,

BASIL WILBERFORCE.

Deanery, Southampton,

Dec. 3rd, 1891.

THE LATE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF RIPON.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), December, 1891.

THE death of the Bishop of Carlisle removes from our midst one of those men of virile intellectual vigor who are not too common among us. He was a typical Cambridge man—trained to the exercise of precise and dispassionate thought, and confident of the value and importance of robust and exact methods of reasoning. It is not untrue, perhaps, to say that as his early study was in mathematics, so also the basis of his intellectual habit was mathematical too. He wrote a book of great use to a certain class of students—his *Course of Mathematics*. It was a careful and nonest presentation of the various subjects which were required for the First Three days of the Mathematical Tripos in the good old times when the tripos was conducted in the early days of January, and in the unwarmed Senate House. The contest was as much physical as mental, and the fittest to survive

were not only those who had most mathematics, but those who were impervious also to cold. The "First Three days" commenced on the Tuesday after the first day of the new year, and only those who survived the scrutiny of these three days were allowed to enter for the final agony of the remaining Five Days. To meet the requirements of the First Three days the late Bishop of Carlisle's *Course of Mathematics* was content. It was a welcome book to many students. But while it was useful for its purpose, and exhibited the vigor and capacity of the writer, it displayed a mind which could travel beyond the routine range of scholastic necessity.

It is the custom in some quarters to decry the value of mathematics as an intellectual training, but there are some who would fain still write over the doors of the Temple of Intellectual Life the ancient words, "Let no man ignorant of geometry enter here." The ability to grasp the significance and certainty of those universal truths which are presented in geometry is a kind of warranty against intellectual deficiency. "I will undertake," said Fred. W. Robertson, "to convict a man of idiocy, if he cannot see the proofs that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles." A mathematical career at Cambridge as distinguished as that of Bishop Harvey Goodwin was the precursor of a life in which mental vigor was a distinguishing characteristic to its latest hour.

He was not afraid of stiff problems, and he did not weary in the presence of difficult questions. His recreation was largely found in attacking hard matters, and a summer holiday was often crowned by an article on some tough subject, on which the world needed light and leading. It was in this way, if I mistake not, that some of his most useful contributions to theological literature were produced. His volume of essays, entitled "Walks in the Regions of Science and Faith," might have been called *Vacation Rambles*. His tract on *Genesis and Creation*—in its way one of the best things he ever did—was the reproduction of a lecture which was given among his own people.

The mathematical training and the scientific habit of his studies promoted that dispassionateness which lends security to reasoning. It was felt that the first thing in his mind was just the question in hand. He had no other thought, no prepossession or prejudice which warped his judgment, or predetermined the course of his argument. We know well how rare a quality

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this is. We all could name by the score leading writers and teachers in every age whose conclusions were reached before the argument began, and the set of whose reasoning was like a wave diverted from its course by some obstinate rock. One eminent man made it a kind of boast that he never allowed his argument to conduct him beyond a certain fixed range. There was none of this intellectual warp in Bishop Harvey Goodwin. He had too great a delight in the mental exercise to allow any conscious shift of the question in the process of the argument. There is Truth, we cannot doubt (though it does not cover the whole ground), in Professor Huxley's words "there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and of action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is." In so far as we can accept this statement, we must feel grateful to a man who, like the late Bishop, sturdily faced facts and problems as they were, and by his vigor and courage not only sought truth, but encouraged the faith (always precious in the world) that truth could be found and was worth the seeking. And this devotion to truth was encouraged by the dispassionateness of his intellectual habit. For it is a mistake to suppose that a vigorous determination to keep prejudice or passion out of sight in dealing with intellectual problems tends to destroy enthusiasm. Some one, indeed, said that all enthusiasts are liars, but this does not mean that truth cannot awaken enthusiasm. And what he felt to be true, Bishop Harvey Goodwin could hold with the earnestness of conviction, the strength of which was not lessened because he reasoned his way to his conclusions. He had a fund of enthusiastic sympathy with great and heroic enterprises. I remember the striking and almost vehement abruptness with which he commenced the Ramsden Sermon at Cambridge, by a reference to the preacher of the preceding year. "The Ramsden Sermon last year was preached by a man worthy of preaching it." I do not vouch for the accuracy of the words. I speak from the memory of some thirty years ago. But the remembrance of this warm and almost impetuous reference to Bishop Mackenzie has never forsaken me. It is well known that this was no passing emotion on the part of the late Bishop of Carlisle. His keen and devoted interest to the cause of the Central African Mission has long been known. One of his last letters to me was on this subject. By correspondence, by journeyings, and in other practical ways he testified the keen-

ness of his devotion to the spread of Christian missions in that quarter of the globe which now commands an almost unrivalled interest among European nations. But Bishop Harvey Goodwin's interests began before the interest in the Dark Continent had become either fashionable or financial, because his interest was the interest of an earnest Christian man.

Neither his earnestness in a great cause, nor his strong love of argument, robbed him of his playful delight in things humorous. I can recall the almost boyish pleasure with which, at Bishopthorpe, he read aloud a comic little story which he had cut out of a newspaper. Many in Manchester will remember his amusing way of telling the workingmen the true definition of a man. The definition of man was not simply a creature with two legs—a creature, with two legs carrying a body which was practically turned into a beer barrel, was not really a man. Those who remember this dealing with the negative side of the definition will recall the happy and effective way in which he gave the positive side of the definition when he put his hand on the shoulder of the Chairman (Bishop Fraser), and turning to his audience, said, "This is a man." The unquestionable concrete example so well known, loved, and revered in Manchester, was too much for the workingmen. The cheer which rent the air was said by one who heard it to be the most magnificent cheer he had ever heard in his life.

To the warmth and vigor of his character, he added a strong practical element. This was shown in many ways, as for example when, knowing the special difficulties of Church building in his own diocese, he offered a prize for the best design of a mountain chapel. His persevering and determined work on behalf of the Church House I feel sure originated in his belief in the position of practical value which such an institution would take in the work of the Church of England.

If we follow his speeches in Convocation or in Parliament we cannot fail to notice that the practical side of questions, as a rule, were uppermost in his mind. The greater practical questions before the Church and nation were of more moment than the trifling matters of fashion or party. Even the suggestion which he made at the Lambeth Conference concerning some scheme of dogmatic teaching, though it provoked Bishop Magee's witticism that he feared we might be wrecked on the Goodwin Sands, was the outcome of his conviction that there was a practical necessity for such a plan.

It is not my object to touch upon his writings. They are all characterized by sincerity of conviction and single-mindedness of purpose. Of his work in his diocese, already much has been said, and well said. His death had a special pathos about it. To die away from home, and in the house which had already seen within the year two changes of its master, seemed to many sadly suggestive of thoughts which stir men's emotions; yet for him who is taken, though he be away from home at the final moment, the call is a call home. He died at Bishopthorpe near York. There for many years his figure had been familiar. There, at Convocation, his counsels had been valued. Thither, and on the affairs of the Church, he made his last journey. His death there was not without its fitness. He loved the Church and her work, and the opportunities which were given him for promoting and directing it. Christianity to him was no dream or speculation, but a power for practical good and for the highest benefit of man. To it, he consecrated his robust understanding, his vigorous logic, his earnest devotion. He desired to make everywhere and in every way its appeal to be heard and understood as intelligent by intelligent men. Little things are often significant of character and habit of thought, and I think that few things could better sum up the attitude of his mind than the motto which he prefixed to his last, and in some respects most considerable work, "The Foundations of the Creed," when he selected the words of Coleridge: "The Christian faith is the perfection of human intelligence."

PROBABILITY AND FAITH.

BY THE LATE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), January, 1892.

IN his volume entitled "Philomythus" Dr. Abbott has discussed, with reference to Cardinal Newman's views and experience, the connection between probability and faith regarded as guides of human life. The opening paragraph of his first chapter is as follows:

"Butler's doctrine that probability is the guide of life led me, at least under the teaching to which a few years later I was introduced, to the logical cogency of Faith." So writes Newman in his 'Apologia,' and by these words he leads us to consider what is meant by probability; how far it is the guide of life; and in what way it is connected with Faith."

I have perused Dr. Abbott's volume with much attention. It appeals to me chiefly as

an attempt to throw light upon the workings of Cardinal Newman's mind. In endeavoring to solve his problem Dr. Abbott has written much that has been keenly resented by some of Cardinal Newman's friends; there has been the average amount of controversy and recrimination which is to be expected in such cases. From all such controversy I desire to keep myself entirely free; but I cannot refrain from remarking that for many years the mind of Cardinal Newman, its workings and their results, have been to me a subject of deep and painful interest. I am one of those who remember well the early days of the "Tracts for the Times"; I possess the Tracts in the original edition; I read them when they came fresh upon the minds of Englishmen; I had taken my degree before the appearance of No. XC. Nay more; I am one of those—not so many of them now—who have heard Newman preach in his own pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, and who can bear testimony to the marvellous effect of his preaching and the marvellous manner in which it was produced. Those who never heard him can scarcely believe—so at least I have found—that pulpit eloquence could be supported upon such a foundation: the unvarying note, the absolute immobility of face and limb, the close of a long sentence to be followed by another apparently separated from the preceding one by a sharp fracture; all this does not look much like a true basis for pulpit eloquence—and in a certain sense it was not eloquence; nevertheless in a very real and deep sense it was so; it was like a message from another world, or like an utterance of a primitive saint or martyr permitted to revisit the world of living men.

I am speaking of the impression made upon me half a century ago, when I visited Oxford partly for the sake of seeing the University, and partly for the sake of hearing Newman. A sermon which I heard him preach is contained in one of his published volumes; it is entitled "The Incarnate Son: a Sufferer and a Sacrifice."* It is, I think, in his best style; but those who read it as printed, and who never heard Newman preach, can have no conception of the sublime, awful solemnity which was imparted to it as a living utterance by his unearthly manner of delivery.

I could write much more in the tone of the preceding paragraph were it necessary; but my purpose will have been accomplished if the account which I have given of my

* "Parochial Sermons," vol. vi., Sermon vi.

feeling of interest in Newman, and of the effect produced upon my mind by his preaching, enables me to say, without suspicion of any wish to do him injustice, that I never found his utterances capable of carrying conviction to my mind. That remarkable sermon, of which I have already spoken as having been heard by myself at Oxford and which any one can read for himself, appeared to me then, and appears still, to depend for its power upon a pervading fallacy. The fallacy is this, that in virtue of our Lord's divinity, we may rightly substitute the phrase *Almighty God* for the phrase *Jesus Christ* wherever our Lord's doings or sufferings are made the subject of narration or discussion; a process which opens up an immeasurable field for solemn rhetoric, but is likely to bring us within measurable distance of patristicism. The result upon my mind in listening to the sermon was consequently as far from conviction as possible. And that which was true concerning the sermon in question is for me true also concerning Newman's writings as a whole,—full of striking thoughts, poetical passages, holy aspirations, conveyed in faultless English; but (so far as my experience is concerned) wanting in the primeness of all qualities—namely, the power of conviction; a kind of phantasmagoria of thought, not corresponding to facts and conclusions which calm reflection enables an unbiassed mind to accept as real. Let me take, as an example of what I mean, a sentence which was said, when it was uttered in St. Mary's, to have produced a tremendous vibration through the whole mind of Oxford. Here is the passage:

"Scripture says that the sun moves, and the earth is stationary, and science that the earth moves, and the sun is comparatively at rest. How can we determine which of these opposite statements is the very truth, till we know what motion is? If our idea of motion is but an accidental result of our present senses, neither proposition is true, and both are true; neither true philosophically, both true for certain practical purposes in the system in which they are respectively found; and physical science will have no better meaning when it says that the earth moves than plane astronomy when it says that the earth is still."*

I think it would be difficult to concentrate in one short passage more error and confusion of thought than this contains; and the suggestion of a bottomless universal scepticism which it contains is frightful exceedingly. Newman perceived this himself, and adds in the next paragraph:

"Should any one fear lest thoughts such as these should tend to a dreary, hopeless scepticism, let

* "Sermons on the Theory of Religious Belief," Sermon xiv.

him take into account the Being and Providence of God, the Merciful and True, and he will at once be relieved of his anxiety."

But it would be beyond my purpose to discuss it fully. I quote it as an extreme specimen of a style which, while susceptible of remarkable impressiveness, and perhaps appearing for the moment to contain deep and important truth, reveals itself, on reflection, as resting on no foundation of solid reason, and as incapable therefore of producing permanent conviction. May it not be said, in fact, that this want of power of conviction has been felt by many to be a characteristic of Newman's life and teaching? We speak of him with regard, respect, affection, almost without reference to schools of thought; we print "Lead, kindly Light" in all our hymn-books, whether "Ancient and Modern," "Hymnal Companion," Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, or what not. When the Cardinal departed this life there was something like a national sorrow, and yet how many Englishmen have practically followed his leading? How many have felt the English Church unsound and unsafe in virtue of these arguments which led him to desert her? What are they who followed him, as compared with the multitude who have recognized all that was beautiful in his character and remarkable in his intellectual powers, and who have sorrowed over him as one who left a grand post of spiritual influence, from which it seemed possible that he might have moved the world, in order to adopt a position against which in his best days no one had protested more strongly than himself?

I must not, however, permit myself to expatiate further on the subject of Cardinal Newman and the character of his preaching, and the like. The purpose of the remarks already made is chiefly that of indicating my own mental position, and of eschewing all hostile feeling toward one who by general assent must be regarded as one of the most remarkable Englishmen of the century, and whom many would regard it as no exaggeration to describe as emphatically a great man. Having written what seemed to me to be necessary with this view, I now return to the passage from the "Apologia" with which Dr. Abbott opens his first chapter.

Newman speaks of "Butler's doctrine

* To contrast Newman for one moment with his great contemporary, F. D. Maurice, my experience in reading the works of the two men was, that whereas Newman produced upon my mind something like the pleasure which results from looking at a picture or other work of art, Maurice seemed to flash out beams of light which penetrated to the soul. The chief debt which I feel to be due from myself to Newman, and I imagine from others, is for his inculcation of those views concerning the spiritual and historical status of the English Church, which unfortunately he subsequently repudiated.

that probability is the guide of life." The first question that suggests itself is perhaps this, whether indeed this is Butler's doctrine. It is true that with the addition of one word the phrase "probability is the guide of life" may be found in the introduction to the "Analogy." I say, with the addition of one word, because the actual language of Butler is "probability is the *very* guide of life." I am not sure that in quoting the passage we have any right to change "the *very* guide" into "*the* guide"; and I express this doubt because the latter reading appears to me to give a much more absolute character to the dictum than that which attaches to Butler's actual words. If in every-day experience I use the expression concerning something which has come to my hand, "This is the very thing I wanted," it would perhaps be regarded as an unfair interpretation of the phrase if it should be regarded as stamping the thing in question with a unique character of adaptation to my needs. Upon this point, however, I shall not lay particular stress. There is another view of the matter which seems to me much more important.

Every reader of the "Analogy" knows that the force of the argument which Butler sums up in the assertion that "probability is the *very* guide of life" is to be found in the appeal which he makes to unbelievers to act in the high concerns of religion upon the principles which they adopt in common affairs. A man, with whom Butler conceives himself to be arguing, says, "I will not believe in the reality of a future life, and will make no preparation for it, unless you can prove to me in a manner not to be doubted or gainsaid that the future life is a reality." Butler replies, "This is not the principle upon which you act in common things. You act every day upon probable evidence. Human affairs would come to a deadlock if men would never consent to act upon anything short of actual proof." Every one must feel the force of this argument, and if Butler in his introduction summarizes it by saying that probability is the *very* guide of life, I think it is a misinterpretation of his language if we regard him as laying down a general rule with regard not only to mundane, but to spiritual matters, and as asserting that we are to take probability as the guide of our spiritual life to the exclusion of all other guides.

It seems clear from Newman's own words that he adopted what I have ventured to call a misinterpretation of Butler's language, and that he regarded the change involved

in the relinquishment of probability as the guide of life and the adoption of faith in its stead as one of first-rate magnitude, and as supplying the key to much of his spiritual history; anyhow, it is undeniable that Newman has placed probability and faith in antithetic relation to each other, and has thus suggested a problem which it may be interesting to attempt to solve. What do we mean by probability? in what sense can it be regarded as the guide of life? and in what relation does it stand to faith? Whether probability is to be regarded as the guide of life or not, it is on either supposition desirable to be clear in our minds as to the real meaning of the word.

Before discussing this question, however, let me interpolate a few words of qualification to the general phrase that probability is the guide of life. Certain remarks made by Dr. Abbott suggest to me the necessity of doing so. The qualification is this: probability must be, and is in practice cheerfully accepted as, our guide *when certainty cannot be had*. We assume as certain that the sun will rise according to a regular law, because a long induction and also careful scientific investigation make it practically quite certain that it will do so. If I say that I regard probability as the guide of life, and you ask me, What about the rising of the sun to-morrow? do you make your arrangements for to-morrow upon the mere probability that the sun will rise?—the answer is, No, I do not need probability as my guide in this case; I enjoy practical certainty, and therefore do not need probability. A man who has the full use of his limbs does not need a stick; a man who knows his way does not need to look at a sign-post, though he might consistently speak of sign-posts as useful guides. It may be possible that a large number of a man's actions may be guided by a sense of practical certainty, and yet there must be some in which such practical certainty is unattainable; it is in these cases that he is guided by probability. A man sends his son to a public school, having made the most careful inquiries in his power, and he hopes the best for his boy's future, on grounds of probability; he crosses the ocean in a vessel which he believes to be good and trustworthy, but he knows that the best of vessels is liable to accident, and that he has no certainty as to the result of his voyage; he engages a house, having first inquired as to its sanitary condition, but he knows from common experience that the health of his family rests only on a probability. In these and such like ways probability constantly

comes into every man's calculations as to what it is best and wisest for him to do; but it is in cases in which certainty cannot be had. To omit this manifestly necessary qualification is to destroy the meaning of Butler's aphorism.

Now let us consider more carefully what is meant by probability. The word appears to be capable of three senses, which may be termed the original, the popular, and the scientific. These shall be considered in order.

First, then, with regard to the original meaning. In Richardson's Dictionary we find the following explanation of the word *probable*: "That can be proved, demonstrable." But there is added this remark: "*Probable*, by usage, is now distinguished from *demonstrable*." It may perhaps even be said that by usage *probable* has come to mean almost the reverse of *demonstrable*; we describe a thing which we fancy we have some reason to believe as *probable*, when we cannot demonstrate that it is true. I come home from a walk in London, and find my handkerchief not in my pocket: it is, of course, probable that the pocket was picked, but it cannot be proved that this was actually so; it is conceivable that the handkerchief was dropped by accident; it may, on the other hand, perhaps, be regarded as nearly certain that the case was one of theft; still, if no one saw the theft committed and no evidence is forthcoming in the case except the loss of the handkerchief, it is clear that in saying it is probable that the handkerchief was stolen we reverse the original meaning of the word *probable*, and use it to signify that the fact to which it is applied is incapable of demonstration, not that it is demonstrable.

Usage has, in fact, deprived the word *probability* completely of its original meaning—that is, the meaning which the construction of the word suggests—and therefore we may pass without hesitation to the second meaning, which I have described as the popular. The word *probable* or *probability*, as popularly used, may be said to express that, to the mind of a certain person or the minds of certain persons, a certain thing is regarded as likely to be true, without reference to the grounds on which the conclusion is based or the degree of confidence with which the thing is believed. Different minds have different estimates of probability. An elderly man and a little child walking in the highway encounter a beggar, who tells a lamentable tale of misery afflicting him and his family. The little child

believes the story at once; the elderly man shakes his head, and says he will make some inquiry. Some persons accept marvellous tales without effort; upon others they make no impression. Education, temperament, experience, and the like produce enormous differences in the estimates which different men make of probability; and I suppose that the task performed by a judge in summing up a case to a jury consists very much in putting the evidence—conflicting evidence, it may be—in such a manner before simple, untrained minds, as to enable them to estimate aright the probabilities of the case. In most cases that come before a judge and jury, demonstration is impossible; what the judge can do is to clear the case of any false gloss put upon evidence by advocates on either side; to point out what has been proved and what has not been proved; and it may then be taken as tolerably sure that a unanimous conclusion of twelve simple, honest, unprejudiced men will be a true verdict.

It may be worth while to quote again from Richardson. The popular meaning, according to this authority, is as follows: "That may be reasonably expected to be, or happen to be; having a likelihood, or resemblance, or similarity to truth or reality; a verisimilitude." This, no doubt, is a somewhat loose definition; but in reality the definition of probability must be, if not loose, at least capable of being loosened; it must admit of degrees. Probability may vary from the merest chance to something nearly approaching certainty. If I walk across a street in London, the probability of being run over by a carriage may be as nearly as possible inappreciable, the probability of getting safe to the other side may be as near certainty as possible.

It is in this popular sense, if in any, that Butler's dictum concerning probability as the very guide of life ought to be construed. I shall have to speak presently of the third meaning of the word *probability*—namely, the scientific; but I will anticipate my remarks so far as to say that I regard the popular, not the scientific, meaning to be that which in ordinary life is generally applicable; if the application of Butler's dictum involved the necessity of scientific calculation, the case would be hopeless for the large majority of mankind. No one in fact thinks, in the ordinary affairs of life, of calculating probabilities; and yet every day we have to act as if certain things were true which we should have much difficulty in proving.

Take a simple example. Almost every

man believes, and acts upon the belief, that he is the lawful child of certain persons commonly reputed to be his parents. It would be a terrible thing for society if belief without proof were not held by the world at large, and felt by each individual in his own case to be sufficient in such a matter. For indeed, if proof were wanted, it might be—nay, it would be, in the very nature of things—difficult to produce. Experience teaches us that this is so. Sometimes it becomes necessary, as when a peerage or a property is involved, to prove that a certain person is what he professes and believes himself to be. A court of law may be engaged for weeks in trying such an issue, and the result may not be free from doubt after all. May it not be held and asserted that in such a case probability is the very guide of life? Could society hold together without a recognition of probability instead of proof? It is not that a man's parentage is admitted to be doubtful, and yet that on the whole he is entitled to the benefit of the doubt—this would be intolerable: the true view would seem to be, that in a matter of the highest social importance, society agrees silently but absolutely to an unwritten law, which substitutes probability for proof.

The remarks which have just been made seem to contain the solution of a difficulty which Dr. Abbott expresses in these words:

"In attempting to apply his doctrine of *probability as the guide of life* to belief in God and in divine truths, Newman confesses that he met a difficulty. How could a man pray to a *probable* God, or pray to God upon grounds of *probability*?"*

The difficulty appears formidable or not—to me at least it is so—according to the meaning which we attach to the word *probable*. It is very formidable, or more than formidable, if we mean by *probable* that a proposition so described is an absolutely open question. Take the case of the existence of intelligent beings upon the surface of the planets. It is certainly *probable*—that is to say, many substantial arguments may be alleged to show—that such inhabitants exist. On the other hand, the late Dr. Whewell, a man of high intellectual and philosophical qualifications, wrote a volume on the opposite side of the question. Consequently, it must be conceded that such existence is doubtful, and it is certain that no practical conclusion would be admitted by thoughtful men which depended upon the assumption of its truth. Or again,

without anticipating what I shall have to say upon the scientific meaning of *probability*, it may be granted that if by the phrase "a *probable* God" it is intended to express that it is ten to one, or a hundred to one, or what not, that God exists, while there is an appreciable probability that there is no God at all, it would be difficult to enter into spiritual relations with such a doubtful Being by prayer or otherwise. In fact, if the claims of our God and heavenly Father were based upon such a claim as this—"The chances are considerably in favor of His existence, therefore bend your knees in admiration on peril of incurring His displeasure"—I should quite expect that men of high feeling and well-balanced minds would honestly and solemnly refuse to have anything to do with this hypothetical God. But if by the phrase "a *probable* God" is meant an infinite Being whose existence is not susceptible of a certain kind of demonstration, but at the same time does not seem to require it, the supposed difficulty in praying to Him may be said to vanish. We might as well speak of the difficulty of honoring and obeying a *probable* father or mother; yet in the strict sense of the phrase this is done every day—that is to say, children honor parents when they cannot *demonstrate* parentage. Do we not all feel that this is right, wise, necessary? Does not society rest upon the assumption that men and women are, except in rare and special cases, that which they are supposed to be? And if so, may it not be maintained that the human soul acts according to a true instinct in praying to God, even though philosophers cannot produce an irrefragable proof of His being? When the term *probability* is applied to the Divine existence, I should hold that in one sense of the term the application is infinitely right, and in another sense infinitely wrong. It is not that believers in God can say that they have reason to think that it is a hundred to one or a thousand to one that God exists, while unbelievers admit perhaps a probability, but a much smaller one, and think that upon the whole the chance is the other way, so that the being of God may be set aside without appreciable danger—not this, nor anything like this, would seem to me to be a possible or tolerable view of the case; rather it should be insisted that the whole conception indicated by such language is thoroughly and fundamentally wrong, as wrong as it would be to speak of the probability of honesty being the best policy, or of the probability of truth being better than falsehood. An allegation may be true, yet it may be

* "Philomythus," chap. ii. p. 57.

impossible in a certain sense to prove its truth ; it may in fact need no proof ; nevertheless it may be an utter mistake to describe it as only probable.

And here perhaps it may be right to quote at some length from the introduction to the "Analogy." The dictum that "probability is the very guide of life" is, as has been already observed, merely a sentence in that introduction. If we would understand Bishop Butler fully, it is well to ponder the following passage, and to observe how distinctly the argument concerning probability is an *argumentum ad hominem*, a plea for the adoption in higher concerns of a principle which in ordinary life is one of necessity :

"From these things it follows [writes Bishop Butler] that in questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, when more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen, if the result of the examination be that there appears upon the whole any the lowest presumption on one side and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation ; and in matters of practice, will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and interest, to act upon that presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in very great doubt which is the truth. For surely a man is as really bound in prudence to do what upon the whole appears, according to the best of his judgment, to be for his happiness, as what he certainly knows to be so. Nay, further, in questions of great consequence, a reasonable man will think it concerns him to remark lower probabilities and presumptions than these ; such as amount to no more than showing one side of a question to be as supposable and as credible as the other : nay, such as but amount to much less even than this. For numberless instances might be mentioned respecting the common pursuits of life, where a man would be thought, in a literal sense, distracted, who would not act, and with great application too, not only upon an even chance, but upon much less, and where the probability or chance was greatly against his succeeding."

I confess that after making every allowance for the circumstances in which Bishop Butler wrote, and for the peculiar character of his argument, I cannot feel surprised if this view of probability in connection with high spiritual concerns should produce upon serious and religious minds somewhat of a feeling of repulsion. It is well enough to speak of probability as applicable to the common pursuits of life, and even in the case of higher things the argument may become in the strong hands of a Butler a kind of *malleus infidelium* ; but it contrasts somewhat painfully with the language of Him who said, "Come unto Me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." It has the same kind of fault as that which attaches to Pascal's challenge to unbelievers, "the *pariez vous*," over which I

remember that Frederick Maurice drops a bitter tear of sadness in one of his books, though I cannot readily turn to the passage. The being of God, the future life of man, the truth of that which men like Pascal have believed concerning this world and the world to come, is no proper subject for a bet ; and that, not merely because betting is mischievous in itself or a practice to be avoided in all times and places, but because in subjects of this kind the data of betting are wanting, and the mere suggestion of a bet, though nothing could be further from Pascal's mind, drags the subject down from the high region of pure light into a lower region of mist and darkness.

Nevertheless, there is an immeasurable difference between reminding a man who stickles for proof of a demonstrative kind in matters spiritual, that he habitually acts without such proof in the ordinary affairs of daily life, and regarding Butler as having laid down the maxim "probability is the guide of life" as the proper and sufficient guide of the human soul in its pilgrimage through this present world. This is what Cardinal Newman at one period of his life seems to have done ; and this is what I apprehend Bishop Butler never intended that any reader of his great work should do.

But it is time that I should pass on to discuss the third meaning of the term *probability*—namely, the scientific. I lay the more stress upon this meaning of the term, because (as it appears to me) in speaking of probability there is a great danger in using language which is only properly intelligible on the supposition of its being used scientifically in matters to which in its scientific sense the word *probability* cannot be properly applied. I quote in illustration a passage from "Philomythus" :

"He himself (Cardinal Newman), when Christianity is in question, imperiously calls upon us to go upon probabilities, even though they be little more than evenly balanced, and once told us that we cannot be Christians, 'if we will not go by evidence, in which there are (so to say) *three* chances for revelation, and only *two* against.'"

Dr. Abbott adds, in a note, "In a later text, Newman substituted a *dozen* for *three*," and he comments upon the recklessness of such substitution ; but the fundamental error is (if I am not mistaken) in the application of any notion of numerically measured probability to such a subject as that of the truth of our holy religion, or indeed of any religion. Even the language of Butler on this subject seems to me to be sometimes open to objection, as where he speaks of "an even chance." Perhaps,

therefore, a short discussion of the scientific meaning of probability may be useful in clearing away a confusion which to some minds may exist on the subject.

I imagine that some persons are not aware that problems of probability belong to the highest department of mathematics. Laplace's "*Calcul des Probabilités*" takes rank as one of the most remarkable efforts of one of the most remarkable of mathematicians. Every mathematician, even of the humblest powers, is familiar with the notion of calculating the probability of events. The possibility of this may be made clear to any ordinary mind. Take a very simple example: What is the probability of drawing a particular card—say, the ace of diamonds—out of a pack? There are fifty-one cards which will not answer the conditions of the problem; there is only one that will. Consequently, it is fifty-one to one against drawing the specified card. What is really meant is, that if you shuffle and draw a very large number of times—say 52,000—the ace of diamonds will be the card drawn 1000 times; in fact, each card in the pack will be drawn the same number of times, there being no reason why one should be drawn more than another. It will be seen from this simple case how the calculation of the probability of an event may be mathematically made, and how in the long run probability becomes certainty.

But there is another form of probability which depends upon combination of events. To take a simple example: Suppose four coins are thrown upon the table at random, what is the probability in favor of the coins turning up three heads and one tail? A little consideration will show that there are five different ways in which the coins can fall: all heads, all tails, one head, two heads, and three heads: only one of these answers the condition; consequently, it is four to one against the specified combination; in other words, if we threw the coins a very large number of times the desired event would happen once in five times.

I will mention just one more problem, the solution of which is of a complicated kind, and cannot be given here. Suppose I write half a dozen letters and address half a dozen envelopes, and then put the letters into the envelopes at haphazard, what is the probability that each person will receive the letter intended for him? or, on the other hand, what is the probability that they will all go wrong?

In cases such as these, it will be apparent that probability has a distinct mathematical

meaning, and that to speak of a certain possible event as having a probability of three to one, or a hundred to one, or what not, is to use language in a strictly defined sense. It would be impossible for an author who considered this, in one edition of a book to write "*three chances for revelation and only two against,*" and then in a subsequent edition to substitute "*a dozen*" for "*three.*" It would be just as possible to say in one edition of a book that there were seven days in a week, and in another that there were ten. This must be at once granted as soon as it is understood that probability is used in a scientific sense; and if it be pleaded that the word is used in a popular and not in a scientific sense, then I should claim that the conclusions should not be stated in scientific language—that is to say, in numbers (for numbers are in their very nature scientific)—for this is sure to mislead. It is probable that a certain manuscript was written in the fourth century. This is an intelligible statement. To say that it is five to one that it was so written, unless some special ground is alleged for these odds, is to say that which is unintelligible in any strict and definite sense.

There is another class of problems in probability to which attention should be directed—namely, those which depend upon statistics. For example, an office undertakes to insure against a certain contingency, a fire, or a railway accident; or it undertakes to pay a certain sum of money to a man's executors on the occasion of his death. Transactions of this kind, as every one knows, are not mere gambling. They depend upon observation and results deduced from observation. Tables of mortality, constructed from observation, enable experts to determine the probable duration of life, and therefore to say upon what terms it will be safe to engage to pay a hundred pounds to his executors. Of course, with a small number of insurers an office might come to grief; but with a large number the results will be quite certain to be those which are given by the calculated tables; that which would be chance in the case of twenty persons would be practical certainty with twenty thousand. The same kind of remark applies to fire and accident. Experience shows how often fires or accidents in given circumstances take place, and though it may be more difficult to obtain accurate statistics than in the case of death, still the principle is the same, and it is manifest that chance tends more and more, as you extend your experience over longer times and wider areas, to become cer-

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tainty, and that it is possible for offices to conduct insurance upon sound mathematical principles.

There is another class of subjects to which it has been attempted to extend scientific reasoning within the limits of the general subject of probabilities, to which reference ought to be made—namely, that of legal evidence and judgments founded upon it. This involves much more difficult questions than those of statistics, because the questions are moral, and therefore not so easily reduced to numbers. I am not sure whether the learned works which have been written are regarded by lawyers as having practically advanced the task of duly administering justice. I will make one reference, however, to Poisson's great work, "*Sur la Probabilité des Jugements*," in order to show how much difficulty there is in applying scientific considerations to subjects of this class.

According to Condorcet, writes Poisson, the chance of a man being condemned unjustly should be equivalent to that of a danger which we regard as so small that we should not care to avoid it in our ordinary course of life; and this on the ground that society has the right, for its own protection, to expose one of its members to a danger, which (so to speak) he himself regards with indifference. This consideration, however, continues our writer, is much too subtle for so grave a question. Laplace gives a definition, much more calculated to throw light upon the question of the chance of mistake which we are compelled to admit into criminal judgments. According to him, this probability ought to be such that there will be greater danger to public safety arising from the acquittal of a guilty man than fear of the condemnation of an innocent one.*

Either of these views may probably be maintained with a great amount of argument; possibly both may be in a certain sense true; but whatever view we take, the opinion may perhaps be rightly expressed that the question is one of almost purely academic interest. In determining the guilt or innocence of a prisoner, judge and jury must have simple principles on which to proceed: the verdict of guilty is given, because the evidence produced leaves practically no doubt upon the minds of the judge and jury that the charge against the prisoner is true. I do not apprehend that it would be possible to take into consideration such general principles as those enunciated either

by Condorcet or Laplace; and if the case should be one in which figures were possible, and an expert could prove that it was ninety-nine to one against the prisoner, I imagine that the judge would direct the jury to give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt. In fact, in moral questions, whether of criminal accusation or of religious truth, the popular meaning of probability, rather than the scientific one, is that which must guide our judgment.

I have entitled this article "Probability and Faith," and I now propose to offer some remarks upon faith in connection with probability. The two things are placed in an antithetical relation to each other by Cardinal Newman in the words quoted from the "*Apologia*" in the opening of the article. He says that Butler's doctrine that probability is the guide of life led him to the logical cogency of faith. I am not intending to discuss the manner in which this progress took place, nor to follow Dr. Abbott in his examination of Newman's account of his own spiritual history, but I wish to state at once, and plainly, the point which strikes my mind as the most salient with respect to the arguments of both writers. I do not perceive how probability can be separated from faith, or faith from probability. I am not sure that the phrase above quoted, "the logical cogency of faith," is one which can be maintained as correct. You may speak of the logical cogency of an argument, but faith, in the very nature of things, is not argument. Faith is subjective; argument—and probability, which is of the same nature as argument—are objective. Faith is the action of the mind itself, accepting as truth that which it thinks it has good reason to accept as true, though it cannot actually prove the same. Probability is a quality which attaches to an allegation, whether the mind accepts it or not. Faith depends upon temperament, education, previous experience, and other influences. For example, there is a report in the newspapers of some political event—the result of a contested election, the resignation of a Minister, a complication with some foreign Government. Roughly speaking, you may say that one political party will believe the report, and the other will discredit it. Neither will say that the thing reported is impossible, or capable of disproof, or perhaps even violently improbable; but wishes which are fathers to thoughts, or habitual modes of looking at things, or the distortions of prejudice, produce their effects upon the judgment, and affect the power of belief.

The question, however, which I have to

* I have not Poisson's book at hand; but I quote from a paper by the late Sergeant Joyce, in the "*Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*."

consider is whether probability and faith can be properly separated from each other, and contemplated as two different modes of arriving at religious truth. As I understand Cardinal Newman, he lived for a time upon what is described as Butler's doctrine that "probability is the guide of life," and that, finding this doctrine unsatisfactory, he discarded probability and took faith as his guide instead. Now it would be foolish for any Christian writer to disparage the power and value of faith. Without adopting extreme Lutheran views on the subject, it is obvious that no spiritual agency receives, throughout the whole of the New Testament, whether in the Gospels, or in the Acts of the Apostles, or in the Epistles, more complete recognition than faith. Our Lord's frequent declarations as to the power of faith to obtain boons from Himself, even when the action is vicarious, as when the friends of a sick man brought the sufferer, himself being helpless, into His presence; or to perform miracles, as when He said that a disciple having faith as a grain of mustard-seed might cast a mountain into the sea,—all these reiterated declarations are in entire keeping with all that was written afterward by the Apostles, when they had time, as it were, to form a code of Christian theology; notably they are in accordance with the declaration of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Indeed, it seems strange that a thoughtful, religious man and a divine should be so long, as Newman seems to have been, in discovering the large share which belongs to faith in the conduct of the Christian life. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the phrase "logical cogency of faith," a phrase concerning the correctness of which I have already ventured to express a doubt; but however this may be, I would lay stress upon this point—that the office of faith should be to throw life into that which already is perceived to be probable. Faith cannot float (so to speak) entirely in the air; it must have some foundation upon which to rest; and if it is to be anything different from fanaticism and enthusiasm, it must have some ground of probability upon which to stand. The prayer in the Gospel: "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief," seems to express as well as can be desired the true character and basis of faith.

It is true, no doubt, that in a certain sense faith gets rid of probability. A matured faith enables a man to say, like St. Paul, "I know in whom I have believed"; and doubtless, when a believer makes his

prayer to God, he does not think of Him as a probable God; nor does a disciple of Christ when speaking to other disciples, or when meditating by himself, like Thomas à Kempis, consider the evidence upon which he accepts Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ of God; but the probability must be assumed, the evidence must be taken for granted; the moment you begin to talk about logical cogency, arguments and probabilities must come to the front; as long as the sky is serene and the mind is filled with thoughts of love and devotion, so long faith may be content to forget the ground upon which she rests; but when the storm comes, whatever be the cause of the disturbance, it will have to be considered whether faith has a real ground upon which to rest secure, or whether it resolves itself into a dream.

For, after all, the great question with regard to such doctrines as the being of God, the Divine character of Jesus Christ, the reality of a life to come, must be whether they are probable or not. It may be admitted that such doctrines are incapable of demonstration in the strict sense of the word; but are they probable in the highest degree? Are they of a kind to justify a man who believes them in recommending them to others on the ground of reason and calm judgment? I put on one side all consideration of the probability of the truth of those ecclesiastical miracles concerning which Cardinal Newman took so much trouble, and which have given rise to Dr. Abbott's book; I do not think it is absolutely necessary for a Catholic Christian to hold a strong opinion about them. I confine my thoughts to great cardinal verities, and concerning them it is not in my judgment derogatory to their high character to conclude that they are *probably true*—in the proper sense of the phrase; and that they so commend themselves to the human soul that it is possible for an earnest man to say, as many have said, "I am as sure as I can be of anything which does not admit of actual demonstration that these things in very deed *are* true." The office of faith is, I apprehend, not to disparage probability, but to change the mere otiose acceptance of a story or a doctrine as *probably true*, into a firm and perhaps ever-growing conviction that the story or doctrine contains the revealed truth of God.

And hence the general conclusion at which I arrive, and which it is the purpose of this article to recommend and enforce, is this, that probability and faith have been joined together by God, and must not be in any way put asunder. Probability exists in the

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nature of things. Outside the range of mathematics there are few truths which rest upon irrefragable, indubitable proof. In the whole moral department of human thought there is scarcely a proposition which has not been doubted, and which may not be questioned. In natural science and in history the probable is often the nearest approximation to truth which can be made by the most earnest and most conscientious student. And we reconcile ourselves to the toleration of the probable; we constantly grope towards the light; but we are content to leave much in darkness. It is only when we deal with the highest of all subjects that imperfect knowledge becomes, at least to some minds, intolerable; it is the very mark of man's high spiritual constitution that this should be so. The dissatisfaction with imperfect knowledge, the possibility of doubt with regard to subjects of supreme interest to the human soul, may be perhaps permitted to grow to excess and to become morbid; nevertheless the language of the patriarch, "Oh, that I knew where I might find Him, that I might come into His presence," expresses the feeling of a healthy soul, and seems to commend itself as an inspiration from Him by whom the soul was created; and it is to the soul thus labouring under the combined influence of aspiration after God and dissatisfaction with the evidence of His living presence supplied by probability intellectually considered, that faith commends itself as the spiritual agency required. Faith as a grain of mustard-seed can move mountains; but it must be faith combined with reason, resting upon grounds which an honest mind can approve, otherwise it may be only another name for fanaticism and folly. A rational acceptance of the probable, accompanied or rather inspired by a divine element of faith, may be regarded as constituting the higher life of man, somewhat as body and soul combine to constitute humanity. Each needs the other, and it is when the two co-exist and co-operate without friction or interference that health and happiness result.

THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS.

BY REV. JAMES STALKER, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), January, 1892.

OF all the poetical books of the Old Testament this is probably the one least generally known; yet it is the one about which our information is most complete. About the circumstances in which some of these books

were produced we know little or nothing; we cannot fix their dates with certainty to within hundreds of years. But we can tell precisely the circumstances in which this book arose; and we can fix its date to within, at the most, a year or two; some think to within a month or two.*

In the year 588 B.C. the city of Jerusalem was compassed round by the Babylonians, and, after a siege of two years, during which the inhabitants endured all the extremities of such a situation, it fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt it to the ground and transported the inhabitants, a few excepted, to far off Babylon. Those who stayed behind attempted to organize themselves in the empty country. But they were attacked in their weakness by the predatory tribes which lived on the borders, and so harassed, that at last, panic-stricken and demoralised, they set off for Egypt, to seek refuge there.

The book has for its theme this catastrophe of the holy nation, and especially of the holy city; and it is evident that it was written at the time by one who was an eye-witness of the scenes he depicts and felt to the very depths of his soul the horror and pain of the tragedy.†

There is one man well-known to us who was on the spot during all these events. The prophet Jeremiah had foretold for many years that this calamity was coming upon Jerusalem. But he spoke to deaf ears. The false prophets by whom he was surrounded made light of his warnings and maintained that he was entirely mistaken: the city of Jehovah would never be given over into the hands of the heathen. The people were only too ready to listen to these flatterers; and the heads of the community were so irritated by what they considered Jeremiah's pessimistic croaking, that they shut his mouth by casting him into prison.

It turned out, however, that he was a true prophet; and he lived to see the fulfilment of the worst which he had foretold. He was in Jerusalem all through the siege and the subsequent destruction of the city; and, after the transportation of the inhabitants had taken place, he was among the small remnant who stayed for a time in the country. He resisted the migration to Egypt, but was compelled at last to go with the rest.

It is very natural to suppose that he was the author, therefore, of the book. This,

* Bleek argues that it was written between the surrender and the destruction of the city.

† Ewald contends that it was written after the fugitives arrived in Egypt, and was used at a mournful anniversary celebration.

no doubt, is why it is separated in our Bible from the rest of the poetical books and inserted after Jeremiah's prophecy. In the Septuagint it is introduced with the superscription: "And it came to pass, after Israel was led into captivity, and Jerusalem laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said." These words, however, do not occur in the Hebrew, which nowhere gives the name of the author.

Jeremiah has always been supposed to be the author till the present day, when it is the fashion to suppose a new author wherever there is the faintest pretext for doing so.* The reasons which have been discovered for attributing Lamentations to another author are of the most microscopic order; but they have appeared sufficient to a certain school. It is allowed, however, that the writer lived at the same time as Jeremiah, and went through the same experience. Bunsen made the suggestion that he may have been Baruch, Jeremiah's loved disciple.

The question is of comparatively little interest, and it has no religious importance whatever. It would be gratifying to know that besides Jeremiah there was another gifted son of Israel in those days, who loved Zion with an affection as profound as is displayed in this book, and was able to express in such lasting literary form the meaning of these tragic events. Nature is hardly, however, so prodigal of her gifts.

The genius of Jeremiah was a rare and peculiar one; but it could not be better expressed than in the profound impression made on the heart of the writer of this book by his country's calamities and the profoundly religious view which he takes of the situation. It is also a noteworthy circumstance that we know from other Scripture that Jeremiah was a lament-writer. Of course a man might be a prophet without having the peculiar gift of the poet. But Jeremiah not only wrote poetry, but this kind of poetry; he wrote a lament on the death of Josiah.† There are some peculiarities in the language of the Lamentations which do not occur in Jeremiah's prophecy; but this is no more than might be expected, when a writer was passing from

one species of literature to another;* and, on the other hand, there are many striking resemblances, and among them one or two phrases which are so characteristic of Jeremiah's style, that they may almost be called his cipher. By far the most conclusive proof, however, of the authorship is the account of Jeremiah's personal experience given in the third chapter. Here the facts of the prophet's history are described with autobiographic fullness. And who but Jeremiah could have used the opening words of that great chapter, "I am the man that hath seen affliction"? Only some prominent public character could have ventured to apply such a description to himself; and whom does the grandiose phrase fit so well as the typical sufferer of his age?‡

The form of this book is of course poetical. But there are certain peculiarities in its poetry which deserve to be noted.

The book is not a continuous poem, but a collection of five separate pieces, all of the same character, and all on the same theme. And the book is so divided in our version that each poem just fills a chapter.

The poems belong to the elegiac species of poetry; and we should call the separate pieces elegies, or dirges, or laments. This kind of poetry seems to have been much cultivated in Israel. We find in the Bible not a few other laments besides those of Jeremiah. They appear to have been frequently composed on the death of persons prominent in the public eye or beloved by a large circle of acquaintance; and very likely they were sung in connection with the funeral rites. But they might also be composed in commemoration of public calamities; and there are some very remarkable prophetic laments, predicting the destruction of cities with the accompanying scenes of woe.†

But there is a remarkable peculiarity still to be mentioned in these laments of Jeremiah. The first four of them are acrostics on the Hebrew alphabet. That is to say,

* What can be the use of quoting as arguments against Jeremiah's authorship, as Dr. Driver does, single words occurring in Lamentations but not in Jeremiah, when, according to Dr. Driver's own theory, these words were current at the time and as accessible to Jeremiah as to any of his disciples? In a case like this, while striking resemblances of word or phrase are important evidence, minute verbal differences have no weight whatever.

Another argument to which Dr. Driver gives prominence, as proving that at least a portion of the book is not by Jeremiah, is that, while in the three poems after the first two of the initial Hebrew letters change places, they occupy in the first poem their usual positions. But he does not mention the simple suggestion of Ewald, that in the first poem an editorial hand may have altered the arrangement. The verses read better, Ewald thinks, when their initial letters stand as in chapters ii., iii., iv.

† The interpretation of those who do not accept Jeremiah's authorship of the book is that the nation personified speaks here. But in chapter i. the nation personified is a woman.

‡ Dr. Driver has a valuable note on the form of the biblical lament.

* Whenever the writer pauses to take breath, says Matthew Arnold.

† Dr. Driver takes no notice of this fact, when giving the reasons *pro* and *con*, in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. I join in the gratitude with which this book has been received. It is an ornament to English theology. But a close examination of it in this case, and in some others where I happen to have some knowledge of my own, does not dispose me to place absolute confidence in it in other cases where I am not able to check it in this way. The air of moderation which it wears is more apparent than real.

the successive verses begin with the successive letters of the alphabet; the first with the letter corresponding to A, the second with B, and so on. And in the great third chapter each successive letter begins three successive verses. The fifth chapter has the same number of verses as it would have if it were an acrostic also; but for some unknown reason the acrostic form is dropped.

This strikes us as a very peculiar thing. It might be expected that a form so artificial must cramp the thought and crush out all naturalness. But it is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry. It appears in several of the Psalms, culminating in exil., where, as is well known, each successive letter of the alphabet begins eight successive verses. It is essentially of the same nature as parallelism, alliteration, metre and rhyme. It appears to be the nature of poetical thought to submit itself to such restraints, and yet be able to move with more grace and freedom than in the slovenly garb of common speech. Odd as this acrostic form seems to us, it probably appeared far more natural to an ancient poet than rhyme would have done, which now is thought so natural. It was apparently resorted to when the material of the poem consisted of a great many somewhat similar remarks, and an artificial thread was needed on which to string the separate thoughts.*

The picture painted in the Lamentations is one of colossal sorrow. The siege and the sack of cities have always been horrible incidents of warfare; but the enemies by whom Jerusalem was destroyed were noted for their cruelty and ruthlessness. In their own annals and in their artistic delineations of their practices in war, which have been dug in recent times from beneath the sands of the desert, this is made painfully evident. The Babylonians, in the height of their power, not only practised the most outrageous cruelty, but gloried in it. And they had many reasons for not sparing Israel.

A most pitiful description is given by the author of the sufferings endured in the siege, especially from famine. The children swooned with hunger and cried for bread to their mothers, who had none to give. The aged gave up the ghost "while they sought their meat to relieve their souls." The famished crept through the streets like gray and feeble ghosts. Those who all their lives before had fed delicately and been clothed

in scarlet were reduced to such extremities that they were willing to part with anything for a morsel of bread. Of the nobles* it is said that once "they were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire": but now, as the effect of famine, "their visage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the streets" (so disfigured are they); "their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick." The dark rumour was even in circulation that mothers, mad with hunger, had sodden their own children.

After the siege came the indescribable horrors of the sack of the city, when the gates were burst open and the brutal soldiery, irritated by long delay, rushed in to wreak their will on the doomed inhabitants. Every home had to endure its own share of cruelty and shame. But above all private grief towered the public calamity. Everything noble and venerable, to which patriotic affection and religious feeling clung, was ruthlessly dishonoured. To crown all, in the temple was heard the ribald noise and shouting of the enemy, loud as had been in happier days the mirth of the solemn festivals. "The adversary hath spread out his hand upon all her pleasant things; for she hath seen that the heathen entered her sanctuary, whom Thou didst command that they should not enter into Thy congregation."

Then followed the deportation of the inhabitants to Babylon, in which king and princes, priests and prophets, high and low, were all mingled in a common degradation; and, as the long procession moved away, they could see, or seemed in their melancholy hearts to see, the ancient and implacable enemies of Israel, such as the Edomites, drawn up along the path as scornful and exultant spectators of their calamity.

A remnant were left behind, among whom was the author of Lamentations. But their lot was perhaps the most pitiable of all. Not only were they constantly harassed by the incursions of the skirmishers from the desert and made to live in perpetual fear, but they had before their eyes the ruins of their country and their capital. The gates were sunk in the ground and the bars broken; the city was a heap of ruins, and silence reigned in the streets. "A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things"; and, as amidst the silence of the deserted city they remembered the days of music and mirth, calling to mind especially the happy pilgrim bands which used to make vocal the

* Dr. Driver alleges this acrostic form as an argument against attributing the book to Jeremiah, "who in his literary style followed the promptings of nature"!

* In Authorized Version, "Nazarites."

roads of the country, now deserted, and to crowd the courts of the temple, now in ruins, no wonder they cried, "How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!"

To all this history of sorrow the author of *Lamentations* gives the most complete and sympathetic expression. The book is full of tears. "Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water," he says, "for the destruction of the daughter of my people." In the first chapter he personifies Israel as a woman weeping and appealing to the whole world: "Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow."

But he had a deeper purpose than merely to give vent to the national grief. All through these poems the minds of the people for whose use they were composed are directed, in a truly prophetic spirit, to the cause of their sufferings. The Babylonians were not the cause: they were merely the instruments of a higher will. It was God who was chastising them; and they were chastised because they had sinned: "The Lord hath afflicted her for the multitude of her transgressions." "The Lord is righteous; for I have rebelled against His commandment." Such is the undertone from first to last below the record of calamity; and the poet seeks to impress on his fellow sufferers that hope lies only in acknowledging their iniquity and seeking forgiveness from Him against whom they have sinned.

The most remarkable of all the five chapters is the middle one. The other two on each side may be said to lean up against it, while it towers above them. In it Jeremiah comes forward to speak in his own person, beginning with the words already quoted, "I am the man that hath seen affliction." He goes on to give a poetical description of his own history, for the purpose of showing the right way of dealing with trouble.

His fellow-sufferers had just come into trouble, but he had been a man of sorrows all his life. Years before their chastisement arrived, the hand of God had been laid heavily on him: "He bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow. He caused the arrows of His quiver to enter into my reins. I was a derision to all my people, and their song all the day." His personal grief might have been described in the very words which would now describe their public calamity. But he had discovered for himself the way out of trouble, and he could now teach it to them.

At first he had agitated himself and cried

out against the hand which was chastising him; his whole being was in tumult and refused to be comforted. But, when he became still and humbled himself, then the day broke and the day-star arose in his heart. The most delightful and comforting truths came pouring into his mind; in the strength of which he surmounted sorrow; and, though outward trouble did not cease, he was able to rise above it.

It is here that there come in a dozen or score of verses totally different from the rest of this book. The rest of the book is steeped in tears; this portion is flushed with sunshine: "It is of the Lord's mercies we are not consumed, because His compassions fail not. They are new every morning; great is Thy faithfulness. The Lord is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in Him. The Lord is good unto them that wait for Him, unto the soul that seeketh Him. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of God. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. . . . For the Lord will not cast off for ever; but, though He cause grief, yet will He have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies. For He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men."

These verses are like a bed of water-lilies lying on the surface of a brackish and desolate mere. The rest of the book may be compared to a sky full of black and dripping clouds, but these verses are like a rainbow arched athwart them. They speak of hope in the depths of desolation, and show the way to reach it. They sound the true evangelic note, which echoes all through the Scripture. They lead up to the proposal with which, at the close of them, Jeremiah appeals to his fellow countrymen, "Let us search and try our way, and turn again to the Lord."

Thus the book has not merely a historical and poetical interest; but it handles with inspired power the problems of sin and suffering, and points out clearly the way to God.

As we close it, the image which remains in our minds is that figure of the Septuagint—Jeremiah seated on the ruins of Jerusalem, with the calamity of his country in all its compass and significance mirrored in his tear-filled heart. And that figure makes our eye travel forward to another. Another son of Israel and lover of Jerusalem, when He was come near, as He descended the Mount of Olives, beheld the city, and wept over it. Strange city! What sons that

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nation bore! How amazingly they loved her! And how unmotherly was her treatment of them!

Some said, in the days of our Lord's flesh, that He was Jeremiah; and between the prophet and the Saviour there were many resemblances. Both loved the people and the capital of their country with passionate affection. Both were repaid with deadly cruelty and persecution, and yet they could not cease to love. Each of them was the man of sorrows of his own age. But from the book of Lamentations we may draw a profounder resemblance. Jeremiah in this book attempted to solve the twin mysteries of suffering and sin; and may we not say that to do this was the purpose of the whole life of Christ? Jeremiah solved the mystery well; but it was left for Jesus to give the perfect solution, when He made sin the background on which to display to the universe the glory of love Divine, and when, by His suffering even unto death, He brought to the world joy unspeakable and life eternal.

MRS. BESANT'S DOUBT AND HER INTERVIEW WITH DR. PUSEY.

BY REV. PRINCIPAL CHARLES CHAPMAN, LL.D.

From *The Thinker* (London), January, 1892.

ONE of the most touching and suggestive pieces of personal history published in modern times, in so far as it relates to religious experience, is the account given in a recent number of the *Review of Reviews* of the progress, or perhaps more correctly, the decline of Mrs. Besant from the Christian faith to blank Atheism, followed by a slight return upwards to Theosophy. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it is chiefly autobiographical. Mrs. Besant's association with the late Mr. Bradlaugh in the advocacy of certain social doctrines, her enthusiasm for the Secularist movement, and the not too complimentary allusions in the press to her former domestic relations had conspired to produce an impression on the public mind unfavourable to her. To many, therefore, the article referred to came as a welcome relief, giving as it did information concerning her early domestic troubles, the origin and progress of her mental conflicts, and the upright, blameless moral character manifested throughout her trials. Mrs. Besant may take to herself the consolation that by means of these revelations there has been awakened, in the minds of many who cling

to the Christian faith as for very life, a sincere sympathy and respect; and she may rest assured that there are not a few who would count it a privilege, if permitted, to do what in them lay to assist her towards attaining to that sweet rest and quiet confidence in Christ which is the most precious treasure they on earth can call their own. Though they may not have been through all the phases of experience that have formed the web and woof of her chequered history, they have, in some instances at least, known the "horror of great darkness," and stood on the brink of most awful precipices, looking with sad heart on the deep and gloomy abyss that lay sheer before them. In the future, she need not lack sympathy and most kindly help should she ever care to seek it.

Many are the religious and philosophical questions raised by the narrative of the experiences of this troubled soul; but on the present occasion I shall confine my attention exclusively to her interview with Dr. Pusey. It is nothing new in the history of the Christian Church for perplexed inquirers to seek counsel of pastors and others whose education and peculiar experience offered some guarantee for readiness and ability to guide the seeker after truth into the right way. Every day there are cases of this kind, and not a few are being constantly led to exchange their restlessness and uncertainty for assured peace and rational conviction. But it is rare that the public is made acquainted, on the one hand, with the sorrows and perplexities of such a notable character, and, on the other, with the procedure, in dealing with them, of so distinguished a counsellor; and the interest aroused in this case becomes the more pathetic from the fact that the interview proved to be the turning point in the career of the sufferer downwards towards the blankest Atheism.

Considering that, according to her own representation, Mrs. Besant was sincerely and eagerly in search of the truth concerning Christ, and that she regarded her revered and learned adviser to be of all men the most likely to help her in the quest, it may well be asked, Was her difficulty beyond solution in the Christian sense? Or was the counsellor in absolute error with respect to the advice given? Or, if not in absolute error, was there failure to read the real secret of the trouble, and a consequent misapplication of a remedy otherwise good and adequate? Or were there personal elements in this case which, for the time being, rendered the wisest counsels and the most cogent arguments nugatory?

In order to form an approximately correct

judgment on the value of the advice tendered, and the general attitude of Dr. Pusey towards his spiritual patient as he regarded her, it will be well to take note of Mrs. Besant's theological position just prior to and at the time that she sought the interview. If we keep to the exact words of the writer of the article in the *Review of Reviews*, her position is not set before us as clearly as it might have been. There is evidently some confusion of thought in the following :—

"ALL CHRISTIAN DOGMAS GO BUT ONE."

"These duties of the parish, however, could not silence the ceaseless strife within. Her health broke down, and she went to London to recover. When there, she found in Mr. Voysey's ministrations 'a gleam of light across the stormy sea of doubt and distress,' but Theism afforded her only a temporary resting-place. She now definitely rejected what she called all the 'barbarous doctrines of the Christian faith,' and felt with relief and joy that 'they were but the dreams of ignorant and semi-savage minds, not the revelation of a God.' One last dogma, however, still remained. Not all her reading of Theodore Parker and Francis Newman and Miss Cobbe had been able to rob her of her faith in the Deity of Christ. She clung to it all the more closely because it was the last and to her the dearest of all."

If in the above paragraph it is intended to state that she first accepted such Theism as Mr. Voysey taught, but afterwards rejected it for Christianity, though with some doubt as to the personality of Christ, it is intelligible and is no discredit to Mrs. Besant's logical acuteness. But if the meaning be that, while finding "a temporary resting-place," i.e., before her final descent to Atheism, in Mr. Voysey's Theism, she *cast aside* "barbarous doctrines of the Christian faith," and *remained in doubt*—only concerning the Deity of Christ, then her theological position was most singular, and such as no person claiming one-half her intellectual ability would think of assuming. The idea of a Theist of the Voysey stamp still clinging to the chief doctrine of the Christian faith—the Deity of Christ—is certainly a new thing in the world! Mr. Voysey is in no doubt about the Person of Christ. His rank Theism leaves no room for uncertainty on that point.

But if we turn from the words of the writer of the article to those of Mrs. Besant herself, it would appear that at the date of her entering upon the special investigation into the question of the actual position of Christ, she was so far a Christian as to accept the Gospel narratives as being on the whole historic, and her desire was to learn from the representations therein contained in what light she ought to regard Him.

She was more than a Theist, though in doubt as to what sort of Christian she could be—whether an orthodox believer in the true Divinity of Christ, or simply a Unitarian. The question with her was how to formulate her faith concerning the Founder of the Christian religion. We are accordingly told that "before she finally parted with all her Christian faith, she took a step which in itself is sufficient to render her autobiography invaluable to the historian and theologian." The step alluded to is the visit paid to Dr. Pusey in order to state her difficulties concerning the Person of Christ, and ask his help in solving them conformably to the orthodox view.

Mrs. Besant seems to have been influenced by powerful reasons in thus seeking the guidance and help of Dr. Pusey. She was under the constraint of an intense longing to find intellectual rest. Her life had been one of weary conflict with distressing doubts concerning most momentous subjects; and she felt it was now high time that some clear and restful views were attained respecting Him whose name and influence were indelibly impressed on Christendom. Then, she had been a member of the Church of England, the wife of a clergyman, and so far as party feeling and preference had had sway, she was, in name and by customary worship, attached to the High Church section. It was thus only natural that, in seeking aid, she should turn her thoughts towards the section of the Church of England with which she was in sympathy; and as Dr. Pusey was in her judgment its most distinguished representative, and had, by his writings, taught her for many years, and "in former days" wielded over her "a great influence," it was most proper that she should endeavour to secure the benefit of his sympathy and advice at this critical juncture. Her confidence in his character and ability was such as to induce the conviction that if there was any man in the world who could, by the reasons he adduced, lead her to a full and unreserved acceptance of the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, that man was Dr. Pusey. Referring to her difficulties she says, "If he resolved them for me, I should escape the trouble I foresaw; if he could not resolve them, then, *no answer to them was to be hoped for.*" Thus she staked her entire future on the ability of one man. It was a desperate venture. How much of reason and how much of wild passion there was in it must be left to the calm judgment of men.

The narrative given of Dr. Pusey's bearing and conduct is in Mrs. Besant's own

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words. After referring to certain correspondence with him in which it appears he had recommended a course of reading and finally agreed to an interview, she says, "He treated me as a penitent going to confession, seeking the advice of a director, not as an inquirer struggling after truth, and resolved to find some firm standing ground in the sea of doubt, whether on the shores of orthodoxy or of heresy. He would not deal with the question of the Deity of Christ as a question of argument: he reminded me, 'You are speaking of your judge' when I pressed some question . . . and asked him if he could recommend me any books that would throw light upon the subject: 'No, no, you have read too much already. You must pray, you must pray.'"

Then, as I said I could not believe without proof, I was told, 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed'; and my further questioning him was checked by the murmur, 'O my child, how undisciplined! how impatient!' The rest of the narrative I give entire on account of its graphic form and touching character.

"AT YOUR PERIL YOU REJECT IT!"

"It is not your duty to ascertain the truth," he told me sternly. "It is your duty to accept and believe the truth as laid down by the Church; at your peril you reject it; the responsibility is not yours so long as you dutifully accept what the Church has laid down for your acceptance. Did not the Lord promise that the presence of the Spirit should be ever with His Church, to guide her into all truth?"

"But the fact of the promise and its value are the very points on which I am doubtful," I answered.

"He shuddered. 'Pray, pray,' he said; 'Father, forgive her, for she knows not what she says.'"

"It was in vain I urged I had everything to gain and nothing to lose by following his directions, but that it seemed to me that fidelity to truth forbade a pretended acceptance of that which was not believed.

"Everything to lose? Yes, indeed. You will be lost for time and lost for eternity."

"Lost or not," I rejoined, "I must and will find out what is true, and I will not believe until I am sure."

"You have no right to make terms with God," he answered, "as to what you will believe and what you will not believe. You are full of intellectual pride."

"I FORBID YOU TO SPEAK OF YOUR DISBELIEF."

"I sighed hopelessly. Little feeling of pride was there in me just then, and I felt that in this rigid unyielding dogmatism there was no comprehension of my difficulties, no help for my struggles. I rose, and, thanking him for his courtesy, said that I would not waste his time further, that I must go home and just face the difficulties out, openly leaving the Church and taking the conse-

quences. Then for the first time his serenity was ruffled.

"'I forbid you to speak of your disbelief,' he cried; 'I forbid you to lead into your own lost state the souls for whom Christ died.'"

"Slowly and sadly I took my way back to the railway station, knowing that my last chance of escape had failed me."

There can be no doubt but that Christian men of all denominations and shades of belief have already passed silent judgment on the whole case as presented by Mrs. Besant herself. The question has been asked and in the privacy of individual minds has been answered, Was Dr. Pusey right or wrong in his treatment of Mrs. Besant? How far is her subsequent departure from all faith to be ascribed to herself, or how far to the particular conduct and bearing at this critical juncture of Dr. Pusey? Now, it seems to me that there are two considerations that should moderate our judgment: one, that it must not be assumed for certain that a treatment of a difficult case like this, however wise and just, would issue in bringing the doubter over to the true faith; the other, that our judgments on Dr. Pusey's method will be affected by the views entertained by the kind and amount of argument requisite in ordinary cases for warranting a rational conviction of the truth of the Deity of Christ, and also by our accord or want of accord with his idea of Church authority in matters of doctrine. Neither Scripture nor reason throw the sole responsibility of failure to win souls to faith on the individual who seeks to win them. Not even Christ when among men persuaded some unbelievers to believe on Himself. There is a guilt of unwillingness to see amidst profession of desire for truth. Those who object to Dr. Pusey's High Church claim for authority, apart from all argument, may imagine that he would have succeeded had he employed the reasoning usually recognized as adequate by theologians. But this is a *non sequitur*. We must not do him that injustice. He may have adduced all the best arguments which the learning and skill of ages have furnished, and yet all may have been lost on Mrs. Besant. In religion, and even in historical matters, the personal element counts for much. Reasoning overwhelmingly powerful to one is insufficient for another; not because there is essential invalidity in it, but because there is something unconsciously operative in the individual to whom it is presented, that hinders it from exercising its proper constraint over the intellect. There is much more in a human being than mere intellect. The intellect moves only in relation to the rest of our

nature. Religious truths, unlike mathematical, are intimately connected with the deepest experience of the spirit, and receive a colouring and draw a setting from the unexpressed and inexpressible *Self*. Formal conclusions arrived at may not embody all that is latent unconsciously in the inner man.

But to return to Dr. Pusey's method, I am disposed to think that his attitude towards Mrs. Besant at the very beginning of the interview was inconsistent with his previous action, and therefore at once produced a damaging effect on her mind. In the preliminary correspondence, when she expressed her doubts and sought help, he advised her to read Liddon's argument as worked out in the well-known Bampton Lectures: at the very beginning of the personal interview he treated her as though she were a penitent, and required of her instant and unquestioned submission to the decisions of an infallible Church. Those of us who read the narrative see at a glance the logical inconsistency of the two courses; and Mrs. Besant was too keen a logician not to be astonished and intellectually injured by this change of attitude. The *letter* had practically said, "See how completely the reasoning of Liddon proves the point; find in his arguments rest for your intellect." The living *voice* practically said, "The point is once for all settled for you by an infallible authority; and all you have to do is to bow submissively to that authority; believe and don't think." Mrs. Besant had been led to expect guidance into truth: she met with a blunt demand for blind submission. I am not referring now to the correctness nor incorrectness of Dr. Pusey's personal faith in the Church as the infallible authority in matters to be believed. I am speaking solely of the natural effect of the inconsistency of his entire procedure on the mind of his interviewer, as giving us one clue to his failure in winning her over to the faith. No doubt Dr. Pusey was his true self in the demand made at the interview. For, strictly speaking, it is a superfluity for those who hold to the high doctrine of Church infallibility and priestly authority to trouble themselves with reasonings to prove this or that Christian dogma. That has been all settled for them, and once for all, by an authority from which there is no appeal, and to criticize or attempt to qualify or amend the decisions once arrived at by that authority is an act of impiety. To set forth even the reasons that led to the dogmas and so justify the claim on submission, is virtually to appeal to the reason of

men, and to dispense with the doctrine of supreme and unalterable authority. Dr. Liddon's work, in so far as it proves to the ordinary judgment of men the truth of the divinity of Christ, is a disclaimer of the demand to submit to dogma on the ground that the Church has once for all without error settled the matter. The only consistent course is to prove, if possible, the right or power of the Church to decide what is the doctrine and the form in which it is to be expressed, and then to demand of every one entire and instant submission. To prove the doctrine after that is quite useless. Romanism is logical: High Anglicanism when dealing with doctrine is too often illogical.

Further, deeper down than this inconsistency in the general treatment of the case lay a very serious defect: Dr. Pusey failed to establish sympathy. In most cases of personal intercourse, it is half the victory if sympathy be established between the seeker and the renderer of help. The opportunities of doing this were at Dr. Pusey's side. Prior to the interview, there was much on Mrs. Besant's part to render her very susceptible to any effort he might make to enter into her real feelings and win her confidence. She had earnestly desired to see him. She had a profound respect for his life's work and great reverence for his character. She was prepared to open her mind to him without reserve, having full faith in his ability and goodness. Not often does a guide of the perplexed find one so prepared for sympathetic treatment. It may be thought that Dr. Pusey was quite right in thinking, when face to face with her, that she had already read too much, and that, therefore, something other than new and additional arguments was required. There are persons whose need is rather spiritual than intellectual. He had, probably, a shrewd suspicion of the existence of a restless temperament which interfered with the acquisition of truth; and it was only right that this circumstance should influence his judgment in the procedure adopted. But it was the discovery of this which rendered it more than ever important to proceed with care in the establishment of full sympathy. She should somehow be made to feel that here was one who saw through all her mental perplexities, assessed their value on the intellectual side, and knew something of the yearning which accompanied them. Whether it arose from sheer incapacity to enter into the real sorrows of one tossed on the sea of doubt, or from the habit of acting the priestly part of

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father confessor to those who came to him, or from both these causes, the result was that all the springs of sympathy were stopped by his rather abrupt and authoritative closure of all the avenues to truth along which she had hoped to be led. This was, as I have pointed out, not only inconsistent with his correspondence with her, but it at once created a revulsion in the mind of his auditor, shook her confidence in him as one who could help her, and raised a barrier between the two souls which nothing could pass. He saw her intellectual restlessness as a fact in her life, but said nothing and did nothing to cause her to feel that he had placed himself in her position and entered sympathetically into her troubles. With the quick instinct of an educated woman she saw that he did not realize her difficulties and bear them on his heart, and hence she felt that he could never offer the clue to their solution. The two beings lived in different intellectual hemispheres, and spoke an untranslatable language. It was Dr. Pusey's business to cross over in imagination to her hemisphere, and learn the language of her soul. This he did not do.

Again, Dr. Pusey added to the original difficulty by the introduction of another. His visitor wanted instruction and guidance in reference to a particular Christian doctrine: she wished to know the evidence for accepting the Deity of Christ as the revealed truth of God, and she supposed that in consequence of his great learning he would be able to point out what she had overlooked, or would marshal the facts in such a way as to bring her the light for which she was craving. Thus her distinct inquiry was met by a withholding of what was sought; and, on the other hand, by a demand that she should accept another and totally different doctrine, namely, that of the infallible authority of the Church on questions of religious truth, and that too as a substitute for the exercise of one's own judgment on the evidence available for proof. Thus Mrs. Besant was intent on knowing about one doctrine; Dr. Pusey insisted on the immediate acceptance of two doctrines. She wanted Scriptural reasons for believing on Christ as the true Son of God; he not only gave no such reasons, but required that she should believe something else at the expense of her own free judgment. It is obvious that Mrs. Besant's Churchism was not of Dr. Pusey's type; for she was utterly surprised at the unreasonableness of this procedure. Naturally, instead of easing the original difficulty, it aggravated it. It immediately aroused antagonism, and tended

to bring the vanishing confidence in her adviser down to zero. It meant for her the surrender of all inquiry, all thought on the matter of the Person of Christ, all respect for one's own faculties, all sense of personal responsibility in matters of faith.

The doctrine of the Church as the infallible seat of authority in matters pertaining to religion opens up a great question on which I cannot enter here and now. I am concerned only with the use made of it in seeking to bring Mrs. Besant to accept the doctrine of the true Divinity of Christ. Dr. Pusey should have remembered that this doctrine of an infallible authority, overriding all the thinking and judgments of individuals, sincere or earnest Christians though they may be, is not itself an Article of Faith in the sense that the Deity of Christ is. It is a preliminary question to that of what is revealed concerning Christ. It cannot be established by assuming that the Church has right and power *ex cathedra* to settle it without appeal; for that is to beg the very question. It is to say, the infallible Church establishes the doctrine of its infallibility—a piece of logical nonsense. Reasons appealing to the judgment of men alone can serve in such a case; and thus, even though it be shown that the Church is as infallible as is claimed in settling dogmas, they and its infallibility are ultimately made to rest on an appeal to the reason as instructed by Scripture. It was too much to suppose that Mrs. Besant, even as Dr. Pusey knew her, would at once bow down to this great assumption of infallible authority, and crush out her spirit of inquiry. One reason why she should do so Dr. Pusey did offer, namely, the fact that the promise of the Holy Spirit to lead into all truth was given by Christ; only with the characteristic tendency of the school to which he belonged, he assumed that these words, addressed to the Apostles in the course of their being equipped for their special work, applied in equal sense and measure to those who were not Apostles, and had reference to the verbal formulation of all subsequent revelations to them; thus, overlooking the real fulfilment when the Apostles were afterwards specially inspired to call to mind what Christ had taught them *viva voce*, as well as to interpret for the entire world the significance of Christ's life and death and resurrection; while, on the other hand, no instance is recorded of their combining with the entire body of Christians, *i.e.*, with the Church, to formulate dogmas out of the current teaching, and to which they demanded unquestioning submission. The instance of

Acts xv. 28, 29 is not to the point, since the matters referred to are not doctrinal but practical. The Apostle Paul was very careful to assign reasons for his positive teaching (1 Cor. xv. 1-8), and exhorted Christians to prove all things and hold fast that which was good; thus also explaining why the Bereans who "searched the Scriptures" to see whether "those things were so, were more noble."

Possibly, Dr. Pusey assumed that as a Churchwoman coming to a Churchman of very pronounced principles, Mrs. Besant ought to have been aware of his doctrine of Church Authority in matters of faith. Perhaps she was inconsequential in her action. Logically, an inquirer ought not to look for a reasoning process to establish the doctrine of the Person of Christ from one who believes that the Church has settled it, and that all duty is now comprised in submission. At all events, it argued a lack of practical sagacity on his part that, when he knew that she in practice was not recognizing such authority and was deliberately asking for proofs, he gave her only another stupendous doctrine to be accepted without full and free discussion.

Passing on to a more general consideration of the difficulties of Mrs. Besant, it seems to me that with such a character, with one circumstanced as she had been, one of the first and most important things to be done would be to establish friendly relations without too great eagerness at first to enter into a hard and continuous discussion of the question at issue. It had been well to approach the subject gradually, not through the intellect or by requiring a formal submission of the will, but by the quiet and tender influences on a susceptible nature, of an unaffected Christian kindness of spirit manifested in varied forms of interest in the past life, present circumstances, and future hopes of the visitor. Strong citadels may be taken by a slow and subtle process, though they are proof against a direct assault. Dr. Pusey was not destitute of tenderness, but it was indicated in passing words of regret, rather than in a line of conduct that would circumvent the life. He saw the need of spiritual influence to the ascertainment of truth; but all the use he made of this knowledge was to exhort her to pray. If, instead of telling her that she was intellectually proud and had need to pray, he had, avoiding every expression of reproach or fault-finding, taken her by the hand and knelt down there and then, and out of the fulness and pity of a deeply sympathetic heart poured out to God his desires

on her behalf, in loving words born of the occasion, he would probably have done more to tone down her restlessness and prepare the way for a future interview for quiet and helpful conversation, than could be accomplished by the most elaborate reasoning, and certainly by any demand for submission.

It may be asked what sort of evidence of the Divinity of Christ is likely to avail with one like Mrs. Besant, provided one has gained her confidence and brought spiritual influence to bear? The evidence is very varied—embodied in definite Scriptural terms and allusions, involved in the attitude assumed by Him when on earth, in the entire scope of His work and in His relation to both prophets and apostles; and drawn also from the facts of Christian experience and the triumphs of Christianity. But it does not follow that the line of proof that would suffice with one individual would serve for another. The effect of light depends much on the medium through which it has to penetrate. There are some whose faith rests on a deep personal experience, and to whom the explicit and implicit language of Scripture concerning Him is but supplementary, while in others the reverse order holds good. Supposing one had to furnish Mrs. Besant at that time with considerations that would probably weigh with her, the first step would have been to ascertain where she stood with respect to God, to Scripture, to Apostolic authority, and then to work from the basis so found. It appears that her Theism just then was clear and strong. But as Theism is of various shades, it would be necessary to ascertain what was involved in it. If it meant that God was not only Personal, but took a personal interest in His rational creatures on the earth, felt towards them as Father, and in some definite form revealed His will to His children, and was ever ready to hear and answer their prayer for spiritual help; if, further, it meant that He had given a supernatural revelation through prophets and Jesus of Nazareth, and that the latter had transmitted teaching authority to His Apostles, then there would be solid ground for ascertaining what portions of our New Testament were held to contain revelations concerning the person and position of Jesus of Nazareth. Mrs. Besant seems to have had doubts about the Fourth Gospel being Apostolic; but admitting the Synoptics and the four unchallenged Epistles, it certainly would be possible to construct an argument out of these which to an unprejudiced mind would be satisfactory. I say "unprejudiced" mind, because it is notorious that

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because of an unwillingness to admit the Divinity of Christ as an Apostolic doctrine, the rationalistic school endeavour to rule out of the argument the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. The feeling of the Tübingen school is well-indicated by Dr. Carpenter's quotation from a paper read in America by a Unitarian, Dr. George Ellis, to the effect that from the side of Scriptural authority "the orthodox had the best of it; and that the way now to deal with the question at issue is to throw over this authority altogether."* One would have had to ascertain from Mrs. Besant, at the time, whether she entertained this predisposition not to accept the doctrine if possible. In that case, the question would become one, not of argument, but of Christian therapeutics; and some spiritual influence gradually working into the heart and life would be the chief *desideratum*. That this kind of influence as a preparation was most necessary is manifest from the account given of her previous religious experience and her manner when visiting Dr. Pusey.

The key to the solution of her difficulties lay in a right apprehension of her religious history, and the bent of her mental tendencies. From the time that she began to doubt and question there were signs of sheer restlessness. The intellectual fever sometimes ran high. The attitude she assumed towards the order of Providence when she lost her child revealed a real passion against the Almighty, and although this passion subsided, the mental temper it revealed ran throughout her life. Her present heat and zeal in the speculations of Theosophy are the outcome of the same thing. She lacked, and lacks still, the calm, equable spirit which alone can ensure the clear apprehension of truth. Time may do much to tone down the fires of eager, restless speculation, and then when the nature regains its balance and the spiritual side attains its proper development, it may be that she will find, as many others equal to her in ability and in honesty have done, the truth that all along has been close at hand. Then she will be surprised that ever she made the reality of a great truth to depend on the ability of one man to lead a feverish intellect to it, and that immediate demonstration was sought for truths which require for their apprehension both a good intellect and a gentle, loving, child spirit that finds in God a real Father.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN-THE-EVANGELIST AND THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

From *The Guardian* (Ch. Eng.), London, December 9, 1891.

It is not our practice, nor is it our wish, to criticise the management of a private society, however well known it may be or however important to the Church. We should have, therefore, preferred to omit all reference to the incident which is troubling at once the American Church and the Society of St. John-the-Evangelist, Cowley. But it has been so widely noticed in America, and has, in consequence, become the subject of so much comment in England, that it is useless to affect to ignore it—especially as there are some aspects of the matter which do not seem to be apprehended either in America or in this country. The facts of the case are simple enough. As every one knows, the Cowley Society has for many years had a branch in America, in connection with which many of the most eminent members of the society, both American and English, have worked. Of these none has been better known in America than Father Hall, whose work for the last eighteen years in Boston has made him one of the most prominent men not only in that city and in the diocese of Massachusetts, but in the whole American Church. Originally an Englishman, Father Hall has become a naturalised American citizen, and by his fellow-Churchmen, if not by himself, his position was regarded as so permanent that he was appointed to such diocesan posts as membership of the Standing Committee and of the General Convention. It has therefore been a great surprise and shock to the parish in which he has laboured, and to the diocese and Church of which he has been an important member, to hear that he has been recalled to England by the Superior of the society to which he owes obedience. Eager protests have been made by public meetings in Boston, and some of the American Bishops have joined in them. The ground of Father Page's action is, as we understand it, twofold. In the first place, in a question which has profoundly agitated the American Church Father Hall took a part opposed to the views of the society which he represented in America. The election of Dr. Phillips Brooks as Bishop of Massachusetts, obviously fitted for such a post as he is by his ability and great personal influence, is yet regarded by many American Churchmen as a grave danger to the cause of Catholic truth. Not only is Dr. Brooks what is generally called

* *Nature and Man*, p. 130.

an extreme Broad Churchman, but some years ago he invited the Unitarian ministers to communicate in his church, and publicly administered the Communion to them. This action has not been denied, nor has Dr. Phillips Brooks withdrawn from the position which he thus assumed. His election under these circumstances has naturally been regarded in America as a very significant step, and it may lead to very serious consequences. The Diocesan Convention formally certified to Dr. Brooks's orthodoxy, and the American Bishops, some of whom undoubtedly made that certificate the ground of their action, confirmed the election. It is thus clear that the certificate was of considerable importance, and the *gravamen* against Father Hall is that, as a member of the Diocesan Convention, he signed the certificate. The Superior, considering this step as contrary to the views of the members of the society both in England and in America, held that it made it impossible for Father Hall to retain his post as Provincial. His was no ordinary influence on the Convention. Such is the position that he holds in the American Church that his signature seems to have had great weight with some at least of the Bishops who voted for confirming the election. The Superior claimed no right to control Father Hall's action in the matter, but he does claim the right to consider it in deciding the question whether he should continue at the head of the American branch of the society.

Another matter has also to be considered. We understand that there is a grave difference of opinion between Father Hall and the rest of the society as to the relations between the society and the American "Province." It is clear that the relation of strict dependence cannot be permanent, and the majority of the society wish to grant a position of "free affiliation" to the American Province, a wish that is shared by most of the Fathers working in the United States. But it is not shared by Father Hall. He holds that complete independence is the only practical policy, and though he is willing to accept the policy of affiliation, it is without any hope of its succeeding. As the affiliation scheme has to be tried it seems clear that, to give it a fair chance, it must be tried under a Provincial who is favourable to it, not under one who is not. For these reasons Father Page has recalled Father Hall.

It is plain that outsiders cannot judge of the force of the considerations which induced him to take so serious a step. The

society, and the society alone, can know enough of its own inner working to estimate the arguments, on both sides obviously weighty, for and against such a proceeding. But even supposing the American supporters of Father Hall are right, and that the Superior has acted unwisely in recalling so tried and eminent a worker from his sphere of successful labour, it seems to us that they have mistaken the point at issue. They have forgotten that Father Hall is a member of a society to whose rules he has promised obedience, and that the Superior is acting strictly in accordance with those rules in recalling him. They look upon Father Hall, not as one of the Society of St. John the-Evangelist, but as the parish priest of an American congregation. A religious society may be an anachronism and a mistake, but if it exists it must have a rule, and the duty of its members is to obey the rule. We gather, however, that the American complainants are not of those who object to religious societies in general. They approve of the principle, but they object to its application in this particular instance. It seems to us, on the other hand, that if religious societies have any *raison d'être* at all, if they are to effect anything which cannot be done by the ordinary methods of Church organisation, it is by virtue of the rule of obedience that they will do it. The Church is fully competent to organise Missions and to establish successful parochial institutions without any religious orders or vows or rules; but to possess a body of men pledged to observe a certain rule and to carry out a certain work in the spirit of obedience is another matter altogether. We have every reason to believe that Father Hall's work in America has been of the highest usefulness, and that he has greatly strengthened Church principles in that country; but we are convinced that the development of community life in the Church of England is of such vast importance that no personal work or influence can be weighed against it for a moment. The whole controversy seems to show that the position of a religious society is not rightly understood by many loyal Churchmen, and it is very important that they should be brought to realise it. Subject to the paramount canonical claims of the Church, every member of the Society of St. John the-Evangelist is bound to obey the Superior in accordance with the rule of the society. It was by virtue of this obedience that Father Hall originally went to America; it is by virtue of the same obedience that he now returns to England. The

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American Church has profited by the rule of the society, and ought not to complain that she now suffers under the same rule. The society could not exist if it had not the right to decide where its members shall work. Otherwise whenever a man of force and influence is sent to a distant country, he will practically be lost to the society, which will thus become a mere training college for missionaries. Father Page's action may have been wise or unwise—that is a question on which we have neither the right nor the wish to pronounce; but, whether it be one or the other, those who understand the essential principles of religious societies, and appreciate their value to the Church of England, will, we are sure, refuse to criticise it on grounds which, however applicable to parochial or even missionary organisations, are wholly inapplicable to a society the first principle of which is obedience to an elected Head.

THE SEAT OF AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

BY THE REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D., PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenomin.), New York, January 2 and 9, 1892.

No apology is needed for inviting attention to the question, What is the Seat of Authority in Religion? In America it is the burning question of the hour, and in our own country the faith of many is disturbed and their religious sentiment shocked through the lack of well-ascertained conclusions regarding it.

At the Reformation there was no question regarding the *source* of authority in religion. All alike believed then, as all alike believe now, that the voice of God is authoritative. The question between the parties was, How are we to know what is God's word, and where is that word to be found? On these questions they had opinions diametrically opposed. The Church of Rome claimed two functions, both of which were disallowed by the Protestants. It claimed to be the permanent incarnation of Christ, the body of the Lord, the organ of his Spirit, equally with Scripture able to guide to God; and it claimed to be alone able to determine what is Scripture. Luther's claim was that the individual can deal directly with God apart from the mediation of the Church, and that God's word verified

itself in the conscience of the individual, apart from the authority of the Church.

"The Church," said Luther, "cannot give more force or authority to a book than it has in itself. A Council cannot make that to be Scripture which in its own nature is not Scripture." With that one word Luther established Protestantism, and set all generations free from the bondage of the Church. But Luther accomplished more. Protestantism is not merely the substitution of one external guide for another: it is rather the exchange of what is outward for what is inward; of what is indirect for what is direct. It is the exchange of God's voice recognized by the Church and interpreted by the Church for God's voice recognized by the individual and interpreted by the individual. The Reformation was no doubt a transference of allegiance from the Church to the Scriptures, but that was by no means all it accomplished; it was also a transition from dependence on the Church's authority to dependence on conscience. It was essentially the assertion of the indefeasible right and duty of the individual to deal with God directly and for himself. And he is only half a Protestant who merely transfers his allegiance from the Church to the Bible, and leans upon this new crutch as the Romanist leans on Rome. The Spirit of Christ is in the Church as truly as in the Bible, but who is for me to sift the human from the divine and give me perfect assurance that here God himself speaks to me? None but myself only. It is only the response of conscience which can so guide and determine me. To accept the Bible on the Church's authority, and to accept every statement in it as infallible truth whether it awakes response in conscience or not, is to remain precisely in the Romanist's position. It is to yield the guidance of our own spiritual affairs to something external to conscience, and thereby to separate ourselves from God.

That this was Luther's position there can be no doubt. "Thou must be as certain that it is the word of God as thou art certain that thou livest, and even more certain, for on this alone must thy conscience rest. And even if all men came—aye, even the angels and all the world—and determined anything, if *thou* canst not form nor conclude the decision, thou art lost. For thou must not place thy decision on the Pope or any other. Thou must thyself be so skillful that thou canst say, God says this, not that; this is right, that is wrong. Else it is not possible to endure. Dost thou stand upon pope and concilia? Then the devil

may at once knock a hole in thee, and insinuate: 'How if it were false; how if they have erred?' Then thou art laid low at once. Therefore, thou must bring *conscience* into play, that thou mayest boldly and defiantly say: 'That is God's word; on that will I risk body and soul and a hundred thousand necks if I had them.' Again: "Therefore, no one shall turn me from the word which *God* teaches me; and *that must I know* as certainly as that two and three make five, that an ell is longer than a half. That is certain, and, though all the world speak to the contrary, still I know that it is not otherwise. Who decides me there? *No man*, but only the *truth*, which is so perfectly certain that nobody can deny it."

Protestants, then, do not rely upon an external warrant for the divine authority of Scripture. The Reformers maintained that the divinity of Scripture is self-evidencing, and can only be ascertained by the response it awakens in the individual.

But in Scripture there is a distinctive characteristic which no merely internal warrant can assure us of. Scripture is not only authoritative, it is normative. It is not only, though mainly, God's word to the individual, it is God's word to all men collectively. God speaks to us through other channels than Scripture. He speaks in nature, in the external world, and in the conscience of man. He speaks to us day by day through good men, through good books, through our own experience. How many owe their awakening to a sense of God's presence, to the example of a Christian, or to the remonstrance of a friend or preacher! How many a lesson from God has been written for us more legibly in our own life than in any part of Scripture! Not *all* God's word is Scripture. The Spirit of God is not imprisoned in the Bible or limited by it. Romanists and the Society of Friends are right in resolutely maintaining that the Spirit is now alive and active in the impartation of truth. Yet Scripture holds a place of its own among all words of God. What, then, is the difference? What is that which prompts us to call Scripture distinctively the Word of God? We do so because of its direct connection with God's historical revelation which culminated in Christ. It is this which gives it its normative character. It is in some parts of it the very organ of God's revelation of himself in that historical, objective line which led up to Christ; and, in all parts of it, it is, if not the immediate organ, then the direct result of that revelation. It is in the Bible we

hear that word of God which it concerns *all God's people in common as a society or church* to know. Here we have the public and common revelation which God has made; that from which all Christian institutions and all Christian hopes spring, and in which all Christians can meet.

Thus accepting the Bible, do we accept it as a whole? Or can we judge each part of Scripture as we judge the whole? Here Protestants divide. Some who admit the validity of the internal response as a test whether this or that book is the word of God, deny its validity as a test whether this or that passage is the word of God. They maintain that once you have ascertained that the Bible, generally, and as a whole, is the Word of God, you must accept every word and letter of it as divinely authoritative. They deny that the test which is valid for the whole is valid for each part. Just as the Romanist exhausts his right of private judgment in one grand decision, when he determines that the Church is an infallible guide, so this type of Protestant exhausts his right of private judgment in the one decision that the Bible is the Word of God. Cautious conservatives see the danger of this position, and leave a way of escape from being quite shut up to it. Perhaps the ablest representative of this class says: "What is fundamental is, that in Scripture, revealing God in Christ, we have a message from God that is supernatural and authoritative; and that Holy Scripture is the instrument of the Holy Ghost for communicating that message and regulating all our thoughts about it. How far the character which attaches to the Revelation, as a whole, is to be ascribed also to every sentence of Scripture, is a subsequent question, the answer to which depends on what Scripture claims for itself, or what it reveals as to the divine method in these communications, and partly also on the experience of the heart in the progressive use of the Bible." No doubt this is a subsequent question, but it is even more pressingly and practically important than the question as to the character of the Bible as a whole. Christians are for the most part agreed that the Bible as a whole contains a message from God: difference of opinion emerges as soon as the same character of supernatural authority is claimed for every part of it. This is resolutely denied by many; and if asked how they can distinguish between what is divinely authoritative and what is not, they would affirm that you must apply the same test to each part that you apply to the whole; that is to say, you must receive

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as divine all that finds a response in your heart and mind, or, more accurately, all that the Spirit of Christ within you recognizes as proceeding from Christ, and truly representing him. The Reformers did not explicitly treat this point, but there are indications in their writings that show with sufficient plainness that they would have taken this ground. Thus Luther in his preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews does not scruple to say that there are in that Epistle not only gold and precious stones, but wood, hay, and stubble. And in his preface to James he lays down a principle which involves the position that it is not enough that a book be apostolic: "That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even though St. Peter or St. Paul should have written it. But that which preaches Christ is always apostolic, even though it be the work of Judas or Annas, of Pilate or of Herod." And when Calvin says, "As God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit," he certainly seems to have his eye on individual parts or utterances of Scripture and the manner in which these gain credit in the hearts of men. A theologian of more recent times expresses himself thus: "You are not to believe—you cannot believe—either fisherman or doctor, if the assertion itself is contrary to truth, to the laws of your being, to the order and constitution of the universe in which you are living. . . . You cannot believe the words, however habitual and familiar they may be to you, if there is that in them which contradicts the spirit of a man that is in you, which does not address that with demonstration and power."

It will be said, This is first to receive as from God a book, and then to determine how much of God's message I shall receive. It is not so. It is to determine how much of this book is God's message. And to any one who fancies this is to set our own judgment above the Word of God, Luther's scornful words are a sufficient reply: "A goodly argument, forsooth—I approve the Scriptures, *ergo* I am above the Scriptures. John Baptist acknowledgeth and proclaimeth Christ, therefore he is above Christ!"

But, as we found that Scripture as a whole could not be verified as the normative authority in distinction from all other words of God without the application of an external as well as of an internal test; so, in determining what authority attaches to each part of it, we must avail ourselves of

the same external aid. These books are the media and the result of God's revelation in history. The New Testament writings, *e.g.*, come to us as the utterances of those who were chosen and trained by Christ to represent him to men. They come, therefore, with a *prima facie* testimony in their favor. We remember our Lord's words, "He that receiveth you receiveth me," and we are disposed to listen to the Apostles as his ambassadors. Moreover, the truth of their writings has been verified in thousands of every generation who have found in them the salvation and the God they craved. No reverence can be too great to feel towards writings that come thus guaranteed. We are thus saved from all extreme of subjectivity. It may be that in some detail I am unable quite to accept what is said, but I am predisposed to learn from these my commissioned teachers, and until an inaccuracy be proved against them, I accept them as authoritative.

We are also saved from extreme individualism by the knowledge that Scripture is for the Church, and not for me alone; and that which seems to me little better than a stone may be to some other person the bread of life. Dr. Dale puts this point with excellent wisdom: "The real power of the New Testament—its 'authority' for myself—must come from those parts of it in which I find God and God finds me; but it does not follow that I am free to say that only in these parts is there any divine light and power. It is easy to understand how Luther came to speak of the Epistle of James as an 'epistle of straw'; it seemed to him to contradict the very substance of what he knew to be the Gospel of Christ. He may be pardoned for his rashness; but still he was rash. Luther was not the measure of all things. Other men were sure that they had heard in that Epistle the voice of God; . . . I distrust the process of 'selection by internal affinity.' It may well be that what does not reach me now will reach me soon. Already I have discovered in the books so much that is wonderful and divine that I am constrained to study them with reverence. I cannot assume equality with Apostles, or coolly criticise the sayings which a great multitude of men, wiser and devouter than myself, have believed to be the sayings of the Son of God. If there are some things which trouble me, I am content to wait till I am compelled to reject them. I know that if I follow Christ I shall not walk in darkness. But if I am guilty of presumption, I may reject what in a little time may be

necessary to my very life." These, I think, are words of the truest wisdom.

There are, then, two views current among Protestants regarding the infallibility or divine authority of the Bible. The one view sees in Scripture universal infallibility in each and all of its parts; the other finds in it, taken as a whole, the infallible message of God. The one, consequently, puts each part of Scripture on the same level of divine authority, and forbids all questioning or criticising; all must be accepted, either intelligently or blindly. The other proceeds upon the assumption that all is true, but will by no means be staggered in its faith to find that certain statements must at any rate be received with modifications. Flaws here and there do not at all affect the substance of the book, any more than the cheapness of the earthen jar impoverishes the gold it contains. On the view that infallible truth and divine authority attach to each and every expression of Scripture, there is no room for discussing the relevancy of this or that argument, the accuracy of this or that quotation, the propriety of such and such an expression. The conclusion of all such discussion is a foregone conclusion; and the discussion is a sham. On the view that infallible truth and divine authority attach to Scripture as a whole, we are not concerned to justify any particular argument or statement. On this view the infallible truth of Scripture consists mainly in this, that it will infallibly bring the honest and resolved seeker after truth into the enjoyment of the truth. In Scripture we have the infallible truth about God and his salvation. This position is the mean between two equally untenable positions; it is, on the one hand, impossible to maintain the infallibility of Scripture on the ground of its literal accuracy; and, on the other hand, it is impossible to maintain that the Bible is not infallible because there may be found in it inaccuracies. Its infallibility attaches to its main substance and central message. It infallibly achieves the object for which it was designed.

If not reasonable, it is certainly natural, that men should demand certainty in their knowledge of religious truth. It is also natural that they should seek for that certainty in some guide external to themselves, in some visible index which can be read by all and which is independent of all subjective variations.

This desire for an external infallible guide arises from two characteristics of human nature. The first is the shrinking from responsibility which is so patent in the major-

ity of men. There are men of strong will and blunt sensibilities who without reluctance determine both their own lives and the lives of other men. But the mass of mankind timidly shrink from giving advice to others or from taking steps which must determine their own future. Various are the ways in which men have in all ages tried to shift the burden of decision off their own shoulders—the lot, the oracle, supposed providences, the merest turn of a coin or opening of a book, anything which will give them a pretext for trusting some other force than that of their own reason. If this is so in the ordinary affairs of life, how much more in what concerns eternity are men likely to crave a determination from without rather than from within!

The second characteristic of human nature which leads men to crave an absolute, objective guide is impatience of other men's thoughts and beliefs. Nothing has had so much influence in forming our conception of the Bible as the need of a judge in controversy. So long as a man goes to the Bible only to find his own way to God and to nourish his own soul, it does not occur to him that any stringent theory of infallibility is needed. He seeks for truth, and he finds it. It is only when he begins to urge his views upon other men and becomes impatient at the slowness with which their minds open to the truth that he seeks some external authority by which he can compel them. It is, at bottom, unbelief in spiritual forces which creates this impatient craving for an infallible decision. An external, irresistible authority is sought, an authority easily accessible and easily applied, as if men could not be persuaded and led, could not be trusted to recognize truth when they see it, or even to wish to recognize it.

But whether we have a right to expect a guide in religion to which we have but to commit ourselves in order to be carried on infallibly to truth without questioning, searching, sifting, anxiety, or effort of our own may very well be doubted. Certainly this is not the method God has employed in imparting knowledge other than religious. Men have been allowed to sift the false from the true at the greatest expenditure of time and of life; they have been allowed to make mistakes and to follow these mistakes to their issues; they have been allowed to sacrifice thousands of human lives in every generation to absurd usages and mistaken ideas. It may indeed be urged that in religion the consequence of error is so grave that it cannot be supposed men should be

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left to any uncertainty here. But may it not rather be argued that it is of so much greater importance that our spiritual energies be elicited than that our physical energies be trained, that it might *a priori* seem very likely that God should not make it impossible for any man, irrespective of his own endeavor and disposition, to miss the truth about Himself?

Even judged *a priori*, then, the craving for external infallible guidance which shall relieve us from all possibility of error, irrespective of our own moral affinities, does not appear to be either an undoubtedly legitimate craving, or likely to be satisfied. But *a priori* arguments here avail us little. Our ideas of what it is likely God will do are apt to go wide of the mark. We might have supposed that God would so reveal himself to all men that they should not be liable to error in divine knowledge. But this, we know, is far from being the case. God has, indeed, not left himself without a witness, but a witness so ambiguous, so difficult to interpret, so easily silenced, that universal knowledge of God has by no means resulted from its testimony.

We may much more safely argue from the facts to God's intention. And there are facts which seem to imply that God did not intend we should have a book which should call forth our faith because of its absolute flawlessness. Such a book we have not got. Even granting that as it left the hands of its writers it was perfect, considerable alterations have been made upon it. It has not been miraculously preserved from the ordinary influences which affect MSS. in the lapse of centuries. The ordinary reader, too, has in it a translation which only inadequately represents the original. So that, were it true that all our faith in Scripture would fall to the ground were one inaccuracy proved, were it true that our assurance that Scripture is God's word depended on our being sure that every word of it is divine, then certainly the English reader could enjoy no such assurance. Had literal accuracy been wanted, literal accuracy would have been secured.

Again, if it had been God's purpose to bring us all to one mind regarding all the details of Christian truth, ought not an infallible interpreter to have been provided? In point of fact, while all Christians believe in the forgiveness of sins and in Christ as mediating that, in the resurrection of the dead, and life eternal, there is little else about which they are agreed, although all use the same book. Romanists are consistent. They see that an infallible inter-

preter is as much needed as an infallible code and directory. How else can the infallibility reach and affect the individual?

The conclusive proof that the Bible was not meant to be used as a mechanical standard of truth is found in the fact that it is not infallible in all its particular statements. Literal and mechanical accuracy in minute details was evidently not aimed at, or, at all events, has not been attained.

Yet there are persons who say that they give up the Bible altogether if there be one proved error in it; that their salvation depends on the absolute accuracy of every word and sentence from the first verse of Genesis to the last of Revelation. Their salvation, happily, depends on no such thing, and it is the merest infatuation to say it does. If Matthew says our Lord was asked by the people, Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day, while in point of fact it was he who asked them that question, is my salvation rendered precarious? That sane men should avow such sentiments and should profess that their faith hangs by so precarious a tenure, might well be stigmatized as irreligious and unchristian were it not so obviously mere thoughtlessness and ignorance. Thank God, our faith depends on a living Person who cannot be separated from us, and who drew to himself and redeemed many before ever there was a written New Testament to quarrel about.

As Frederick Denison Maurice said, "I will not believe any Christian man, even upon his own testimony, who tells me that he should cease to trust in the Son of God because he found chronological or historical misstatements in the Scriptures as great as ever have been charged against them by their bitterest opponents. If I did suspect him of such hollowness, I should pray for him that he might never meet with any travelers or philologists who confirmed the statements of Scripture; none but such as denied them or mocked at them; because the sooner such a foundation is shaken, the better it will be for him."

It will, however, be said these are very minute errors; it is mere trifling to lay such stress on them. No one who studies the Bible can fail to be struck with the manner in which it stands the tests which fresh discoveries from year to year apply to its accuracy. The inaccuracies which do occur, so little touch the substance of the history that one is ashamed to point them out. They are the little cracks or miniature crevasses in the continuous glacier, which a man may step across without noticing them; they do not turn him off his

path. If he wantonly thrusts his foot into a hole, he may twist his ankle and prevent further progress, but for the honest man they present no real break or pitfall.

Why, then, notice them? We are compelled to notice them, partly to show how insignificant they are, partly because some, by claiming for the Bible an infallibility it does not possess, have blinded themselves and others to the infallibility it actually has. It is infallible as a guide to those who, with childlike spirit and seeking the truth, follow its light: it actually leads men to Christ. It is infallible in its substance, though not in its form; as a whole, though not in each particular part; in the spirit, though not always in the letter.

These discrepancies are in themselves very trifling, and of absolutely no consequence, but they become of alarming consequence when used as a lever to subvert the infallibility of Scripture. And this they have been made by writers who take advantage of the claim of literal infallibility advanced by well-intentioned persons. This claim is easily disposed of by means of these discrepancies, and the inference is drawn that the infallibility for which we contend does not exist. But literal infallibility is not that which we contend for, and these discrepancies might be multiplied a hundredfold and yet not be inconsistent with true infallibility.

For, first, unimportant errors in detail are never allowed to discredit a historian. The rule "*falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*," is valid in the case of a deliberate falsifier, but absurd if applied to one who errs through lack of knowledge. One who intentionally deceives you, a witness on oath who deliberately gives false evidence, cannot any more be trusted, and the whole of his evidence is discredited. But there is no man who has not occasionally stumbled into error, error at once condoned, and which casts no shadow on his general reputation for truth. Seckendorf is esteemed an unimpeachable authority, yet Seckendorf relates a now exploded legend that Luther was born at Eisleben because his mother had gone there to a fair. Tacitus confounds Agrippa with his brother Herod, King of Chalcis, but are we therefore to read Tacitus with distrust, ever fearful of being led into error? There is no known historian who has not been proved in error, but occasional, unintentional, and unimportant error is lost to view in the general reputation for accuracy which the historian acquires. But what is unimportant error? Is not all error important where divine and

eternal interests are concerned? No: else God would have provided for the absence of all error. Error is unimportant when it does not affect the purpose of the whole. Errors in grammar are of no consequence when the sense is unaffected and the meaning remains intelligible. No errors in Scripture are of importance which do not hinder it from conveying to us an adequate apprehension of God's revelation. It must be judged by its fulfillment of its object, and its object was to enable us to apprehend God in Christ and lead us to him. To deny that it has fulfilled this object is too audacious even for skepticism. The Christian ages stand behind us loudly witnessing that Scripture has done its work.

It is on this, then, we found, and here that we find, the "impregnable rock" of Scripture. It does infallibly guide men to Christ. No church can come in between my soul and the figure it presents. No criticism can come in between my soul and that figure. The figure I see in the Gospels, I find also in my life. The same patience and wisdom and divinity that command my adoration in the Gospels shine on my life and give it all the worth and hope it has. Criticism may cut off a fringe or tassel from His garment, but the features and the expressions it cannot touch. They shine with self-evidencing power into every prepared heart.

Other questions remain, some of them of vast importance; but time fails. It is, e.g., feared that if we frankly accept the Reformation principle, it will leave every man to be the judge of what is Scripture and what is not; and that even when a book is acknowledged to be apostolic it remains with the individual to say how much of it he is pleased to receive as God's word. Now, it is remarkable that practically this is already our manner of treating the Bible. Who is at the reader's elbow as he reads Exodus and Leviticus to tell him what is of permanent authority, and what was for the Mosaic dispensation only? Who whispers to us, as we read Genesis and Kings, This is exemplary; this is not? Who sifts for us the speeches of Job, and enables us to treasure as divine truth what he utters in one verse, while we reject the next as Satanic raving? Who gives the preacher authority, who gives him accuracy of aim, to pounce on a sound text in Ecclesiastes, while wisdom and folly toss and roll over one another in confused and inextricable contortions? What enables the humblest Christian to come safely through all the cursing Psalms and go straight to forgive his enemy? What

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tells us we may eat things strangled, though the whole college of Apostles deliberately and expressly prohibited such eating? Who assures us we need not anoint the sick with oil, though James bids us do so? In a word, how is it that the simplest reader can be trusted with the Bible, and can be left to find his own spiritual nourishment in it? Paul solves the whole matter for us in his bold and exhaustive words: "The spiritual man—the man who has the spirit of Christ—judgeth all things." This, and this only, is the true touchstone by which all things are tried. Let a man accept Christ and live in his Spirit, and there is no fear that he will reject what Christ means he should receive.

THE RIGHT USE OF WEALTH.

BY J. M. BUCKLEY, D.D., LL.D., EDITOR OF
"THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE."

From *The Independent* (Undenomin.), New York, January 7,
1892.

By some it is held that a rich Christian is an anomaly, little short of a monstrosity, an excrescence upon Christianity, and not a natural, wholesome growth. This view is not ours. The love of money is indeed the root of all evil, and "they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

The blessing of the Lord sometimes maketh rich in the literal sense of the words. Abraham and Job were thus made rich. The only charge made by Jesus against the rich was against those who were "rich toward themselves and not toward God." The Apostles recognized distinctions between the rich and the poor: "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted, and the rich [brother] in that he is made low." The Sermon on the Mount, like the Apostles, tells men not to trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God. But in the discharge of their duty riches may come; hence the Apostolic rule is, every one shall give "as the Lord hath prospered him."

The Christian rule is for men to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." If God gives him only poverty, the disciple must not murmur nor impeach the wisdom or faithfulness of God. If neither poverty nor riches but food convenient for him be sent, he has reason for great thankfulness. If riches increase, he is not to set his heart upon them, but use them properly.

Whatever may be thought of this view it

is indisputable that many Christians now possess wealth. Some have inherited fortunes; others have become rich by the increase of property. Such are farmers and others holding real estate by inheritance and by purchase in the outskirts of cities, or which have become sites of towns or cities; the "unearned increment" has made them rich while they waked and while they slept. Such are those upon whose lands, originally of low value, mines of coal, iron, silver, lead, copper, may have been found, or wells of oil and fountains of gas opened. Others have accumulated wealth in their professions as lawyers, physicians, inventors, occasionally journalists, authors; still others beginning as humble mechanics have become manufacturers, employing thousands of men and receiving princely incomes from a small profit upon the labor of each. In a similar way traders have become merchant princes, clerks have developed into great bankers.

To the carrying on of the business in which these men are engaged much surplus wealth is necessary, as a security against changes in the value of raw material, a decline in demand, the effect of competition with the whole world, and as a means of employing those who depend upon the business for a livelihood in times of depression.

All these are stewards of God. This wealth belongs to him. He gave the strength, capacity for wisdom and environment; what men call fortune Christians must call Providence, whereby all these accumulations were made possible. Stewards or agents of men have fixed salaries and receive direct instructions from their principals as to the management of the interests committed to their care; but stewards of God are left to determine by the precepts which he has given how they should live, and by the exercise of their own judgment what use they shall make of what they do not deem necessary or lawful to expend for their subsistence and comfort.

The error of this age is that Christians, like others, fancy that a man's life consisteth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, and that he is under no responsibility for their use. This error leads men who, in their baptismal vows, "renounce the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them," to build great palaces, give great entertainments, and erect monuments of earthly pride. Whereas God asserts his primary ownership: "For she

did not know that I gave her corn and wine and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold. . . . Therefore will I return, and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof, and will recover my wool and my flax."

The duty, therefore, of the Christian is to reflect how he can use his wealth to promote the kingdom of Christ. His family must be cared for in a proper manner, so as not to rob them of the stimulus to a useful life, or to leave them in danger of actual poverty. His mode of life should be marked by a generous use of the bounties which God has bestowed upon him, but ever being on guard against the insidious sophisms of self-love, he shows how he can make friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, so that the use of his wealth like his prayers and honest deeds, may increase his blessedness when he shall die in the Lord, and rest from his labors.

The maintenance of the institutions of true religion is first in the order of importance. But it is not the duty of the Christian who possesses wealth so to concentrate it upon a local church as to take from other members the opportunity and the necessity of bearing their portion of the burden. Under ordinary circumstances endowed churches and immense gifts from one or two individuals are not useful in proportion to the amount thus given. In establishing the Gospel in neglected districts, and maintaining mission work where the indigenous resources are not adequate, such gifts wisely applied are among the most effective means of promoting the glory of God through the highest welfare of men.

Education presents a field to which now there is a fashionable tendency, and institutions to promote it are among the noblest exhibitions of Christian philanthropy which adorn the present age. Not the least among them is the recent attempt to give to all classes the opportunity of acquiring manual training, which had been taken from the sons of the poor by the abolition of the apprentice system, and the restrictions imposed by trades unions.

I would direct the attention of those interested in such considerations to a kind of beneficence which has these excellent characteristics; it is most certainly needed, its effects are invariably good, it is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ. Its best illustrations are seen in hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged.

That the sick and the wounded should be tenderly cared for, and if possible restored to health, there can be no question. That

the fatherless and motherless should find in Christian training and affection the substitute for paternal and maternal care is a direct conclusion from the very existence of Christianity; that the aged, whose steps halt feebly to the tomb, who are deprived of the capacities of usefulness and of enjoyment, should be honored for their gray hairs, and comforted in their "age and feebleness extreme" is self-evident. Let the untutored Indian, whose life depends upon physical strength, and whose resources are few, lead out into the forest his decrepit ancestors to die, but let not the Christian allow virtuous age to beg its bread. In this he should do good unto all men as he has opportunity, especially unto them that be of the household of faith.

No return in the support of a hospital is to be expected, except from a few patients who avail themselves of its superior facilities in particular cases. The great majority are like the man whom the good Samaritan relieved, recipients without being able to repay.

Orphans may indeed and often do remember, when they prosper, the homes which benevolence gave them; but not many of them, debarred as they are the support which comes from connection with prosperous families in the enterprises of life, attain considerable wealth. The aged already far along in the retrograde changes the end of which is death, must receive the last gratuity when they are unconscious of it, as their eyes are closed and their bodies decently interred by those who have ministered to their helplessness.

It would seem, therefore, that those who are in doubt what to do with their wealth might well resolve that doubt by selecting from these three classes for which the State does not and cannot make adequate provision, the Hospital, the Orphanage, the Home for the Aged, a suitable object for the appropriation as agents and stewards, of a portion of the at present uninvested treasures left by divine Providence on deposit with them.

NEW YORK CITY.

BY ROBERT S. MAC ARTHUR, D.D.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, January 7, 1892.

Few questions are more practical and important to-day than the proper use of wealth. America is fast becoming the richest nation of the world; and many thoughtful Americans, having recently become possessed of wealth, are more perplexed as to

its right use than are the people of older countries, who have longer been accustomed to its possession. Great wealth is an enormous power for good or evil. Its possession is itself the obligation to its right use. The wrong use of wealth is a crime against its possessor and against society. As much skill is often required in the right disposition of wealth as in its accumulation. It is really as difficult to make a good investment for the Lord as for one's self. We are familiar with the old phrase, *Noblesse oblige*. This legend teaches us that worthy descent, noble blood and high position of whatever kind demand corresponding character and service. The time has come for us to coin and to emphasize another phrase—*Richesse oblige*. Each new possession implies a new responsibility. A man does not possess wealth to himself, any more than he can live to himself in any position. Mr. A. T. Stewart's inability to make a wise disposition of his money was one of the sad failures of his life. He showed more skill in its acquisition than in its wise disposition. It is difficult to lay down principles of universal application regarding the disposition of money. That a man owes something to society no one will doubt; and that he ought to discharge this obligation in some form, every one will admit.

That a man ought to give liberally, and give in his lifetime, will be insisted upon in this article. This he ought to do, in the first place, because of the influence of giving upon the giver himself. Giving for Christian or any humane work is not simply a duty, it is a privilege. It is not simply a privilege, it is a glory. It develops manhood. It makes the giver a taller, broader, deeper man: it puts him into sympathy with his fellow-man the world over; it makes him tenfold more a man. Many men are moral dwarfs who might be giants. They live in the malarial valleys of their own mean and selfish natures, when they might breathe the mountain air, and bask in the divine sunshine of noble deeds. They sing their *Miserere*, born of selfish withholding; they might sing the *Te Deum*, inspired by generous bestowment. Such men are to be pitied; they are also to be severely blamed. Did not our religion prevent we would despise them. No man has a right to be a moral dwarf; no man has a right to commit moral suicide. Every man ought to be as man like as possible; every man ought to be as God-like as possible. God is the eternal giver; did he cease to give, he would cease to be God. They who cease to give cease to be God-like. The

Dead Sea is the Dead Sea because it always takes in and never gives out. Geographers tell us that it has no outlet, visible or invisible. Lifeless it lies beneath the scorching sun. The man who refuses to give for Christ and his cause soon becomes a dead man. Think of a church made up of such men! God pity a warm-hearted, Christ-loving man who happens to be the pastor of such people! Such a church needs training. But it seems almost hopeless to attempt to train men and women who have grown old and rich in wicked withholding. Refusing to give intensifies disinclination to give. To nurse selfishness is to produce moral decay.

A man of wealth ought to give also for the sake of his family. It is often said that men ought to hoard up their money for the good of their children. It ought oftener to be said that men ought to give with a liberal hand for the good of their children. Many a man inflicts the greatest possible wrong upon his children when he makes them possessors of great wealth for which they have never toiled. Families could be named in this city whose sons have never added anything to the world's wealth in money, in intellect, in culture, or in any other form of helpful living. They simply spend what their fathers selfishly and foolishly hoarded. Some of these children live fast and injurious lives; others live simply negative lives, doing absolutely nothing to help their fellow-men. They do not really live; they simply exist. They are ciphers in this busy, toiling and suffering world. It is difficult not to hold such men in contempt. If they had to work, as their fathers did, the necessity would be a divine benediction. Had their fathers given their wealth to educational, charitable, and distinctively missionary institutions, they would have conferred a blessing upon their children as well as upon the direct objects of their benevolence. Americans are especially exposed to the danger of possessing large wealth thus inherited. In older countries that danger has been to a considerable degree avoided. There the fine old phrase already quoted, *Noblesse oblige*, has greater authority. In our country we have not yet reached that stage of social development. Some of these unfortunate children have neither capacity nor desire for study; and they will not work in business as their fathers did a generation ago. Their club is their university and their church. Their talk is trivial, if not coarse. They are a reproach to American life and to the civilization of the nineteenth

century. There are, it is joyfully admitted, honorable exceptions in business life and in political activity, but the regret is that the exceptions are so rare. In the Old World a great change has taken place in this respect within half a century. Now the sons of nobility are taking hold of business. The Marquis of Lorne spends part of his leisure in making a translation of the Psalms of David; the son of the Queen part of his leisure in writing music. It may not be music of a very high order; but it is worth something to have him make music or do anything else of an intellectual kind. The daughter of the Queen weds the son of a Duke, honored for his literary attainments and business pursuits as for his long line of ancestors. It is felt that something else than fox-hunting and other forms of pleasure-seeking is needed to secure a respectable standing with the thinking classes of society. Remove from the Duke of Argyle all the glory of his ancestral fame and estates, and he will still stand before the world as the author of books representing the ripe results of science in harmony with the teachings of religion. Similar remarks would apply to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Lecky, Mr. Balfour, and many others. On no heraldic crutches may any man strut across the stage of life to-day. The world rightly insists that every man shall do and be something to justify his claim upon the consideration and honor of society. It is a reproach to a man's family, as well as a dishonor to his own memory, for him to leave them millions while he leaves nothing, or at most but a few thousands, of his wealth to the cause of God and man. If he had a proper regard for the good of his own name, and for the honor of his family, he would make a far different disposition of his wealth. It is not too much to say that no man is properly prepared to die who leaves millions to his family and but a few thousands to all forms of benevolence. The time has come for the creation of a sentiment making such a disposition of one's property dishonorable to himself and dishonoring to his family. The time has come for the pulpit and press to teach this truth.

Society has claims upon a man as well as his family. However successful a man may be in acquiring property, he is, after all, only a factor in its production. The increase of value in property is often to be attributed to the wisdom of others as truly as to that of the man himself. The natural increase in the value of property places each property holder under obligations to

use a part of his possessions for the good of society. Men of wealth are debtors to the community as truly as, and often more really than, are poor men. Intellectual wealth comes under the same law. Intellectual miserliness may be as real and almost as degrading as the inordinate love of money. A man who has made vast intellectual acquirements ought to give the world the benefit of his attainments as truly as the man of wealth. The Apostle Paul recognized his indebtedness to the untutored barbarians as well as to the cultured Greeks; his ability to help both created the obligation to render that help. A man in refusing the claims of society may be inflicting irreparable injury upon his own children. Society is one; the solidarity of a community and of the race must be recognized. Whatever hurts any part of the community hurts the entire community. There is a consolidation of interests and a fellowship of responsibilities. The hand, the foot and the eye are inseparable parts of the one integral body. A man may say: "I must spend this money to improve the home and the grounds about the home of my children." No one will object to this use of a portion of his property, but not far from his home is an enormous bog emitting constantly malarial poisons. Is it not equally his duty to his children to unite with his neighbors in draining that bog, and thus purify the atmosphere which they all breathe? Can he do a greater kindness to his children than to drain that bog? But society abounds in moral bogs, emitting the most deadly moral poisons. Can a man do better than to use a large portion of his wealth in draining these moral bogs? In harmony with this principle every business man in the city of New York ought to be interested in all forms of city mission work. Mission stations are the best police forces in the community. Real estate was not worth much in Sodom and Gomorrah on the morning of the day when the Lord determined to destroy them with fire and brimstone. Old Dr. South was right when he said: "If we had not places in which the breakers of man's law should be confined, we should need to multiply places in which the breakers of man's law should be confined." The unmistakable mutterings of communism can best be silenced by the manifestations of a true Christianity in many practicable forms. Jesus Christ was a working-man. He is the true friend of workingmen everywhere. They commit their greatest blunder when they turn away from Christ and his Church, but the Church has also

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often blundered in refusing them consideration and fraternal sympathy. Never were the opportunities greater for the right investment of wealth than now. Steamships, railroads, telegraphs and telephones have girdled the world. Africa is to-day at our doors, and India is as near to us now as Britain was but a little time ago. The Christianization of Africa and other heathen lands opens wide doors to the commerce of America. Every cotton mill in New England is financially interested in every mission station in Africa. No man is worthy the honors given to an intelligent American citizen who is not interested in the establishment of missions, and in the Christianization of the world. The man who affirms his indifference in this respect simply announces his ignorance and inhumanity in many respects. The man of wealth cannot shut up his heart and his pocket against the cry of suffering women in heathen lands, the victims of ignorant and superstitious medical practitioners, of helpless children crying for light and knowledge, and of great masses of men who might soon be transformed from barbarians into intelligent citizens. Never were there such opportunities as to-day for the right use of wealth in missions at home and abroad. We can have both home and foreign missions on Manhattan Island. To be simply a good citizen a man must be an intelligent giver to every form of divine and humane work.

We are now prepared to advance a step:

Men ought to give in their lifetime, except so far as the withdrawal of large amounts of money might seriously injure their business. There is often but little generosity in leaving large sums in one's will; it is generally pure selfishness which makes men hold on to their money until death relaxes their grasp. There may be also great folly as well as selfishness and miserliness in this procedure. Recent events have shown that it is well-nigh impossible for the greatest lawyers to draw wills which heirs by the aid of other great lawyers and courts cannot break. It may also be assumed that the average heir will forget the claims of generosity toward society, and of respect toward the dead in order to gratify his selfish ambition. In this way New York City lately has lost large sums of money given for public uses. Men are unspeakably foolish to take the chances of giving money in this way. They ought also to have the joy which comes from seeing their gifts rightly used; they ought also to superintend the investments of their gifts so as to secure their utmost safety and pro-

ductiveness. The ability which they have shown in acquiring money they ought to continue to show in the management of that money when given to educational and other benevolent institutions. Standing before a historic monument in London, Matthew Vassar read the words "In his lifetime," and immediately conceived the idea of giving of his wealth in his own lifetime for the founding of Vassar College. His example is worthy of general imitation. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, in his recent gift of millions to the University of Chicago and to other educational institutions, has set an equally worthy example. So has Mr. James B. Colgate in his more recent gift of \$1,000,000 to Colgate University. Both Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Colgate have given their varied and ripe business experience toward the judicious investment of their gifts, and toward the management of these institutions. It is difficult to overstate the importance of giving in this way, or the folly of leaving large amounts in doubtful wills, creating painful contests, alienating families, robbing needy institutions, and only enriching lawyers already wealthy.

Great folly is often shown also in the building of enormously expensive monuments over the dead. Friends of the writer have lately endowed scholarships in women's colleges as monuments to their deceased wives; this course is eminently wise. Young women will continue to be educated from the annual income of these investments, and will thus be living monuments to the memory of the departed. Surely such a course is vastly wiser than spending the money in erecting stately piles of marble and granite over the dead. We are warranted in saying that no better use can be made of money than expending it either in direct mission work or in founding and managing great institutions for Christian education. New England gained her great place in this Republic because of the attention which she gave to education. The people who first came into New England contained an unusually large proportion of English university men; this was especially true of the ministers. These educated ministers altho' dead still speak and act; they created the mold into which their descendants have been run; they have made New England felt throughout America and throughout the world. When these university-bred men died, there was a noble body of men bred in American colleges ready to take their places.

The great colleges founded in that early

day have been the bulwarks of education, of liberty and of religion. The man who founds by money or brains a great university, which remains loyal to truth and God, does more to bless men and to honor God than man or angel can estimate. He founds the most enduring institution known this side of God's throne. Oxford and Cambridge have outlived political earthquakes; they will outlive all possible national cataclysms. They are more enduring than the British throne. It is conceivable that a Republic may take the place one day of the British monarchy; but amid the crash of thrones and dynasties, should this change come, these great universities will stand unmoved. Empires may rise and fall, dynasties change and decay, but these institutions of learning shall be like mighty lighthouses resting on the eternal rock, and sending out the light of science and religion, blended into one flame, to illumine the world and to glorify God.

Few subjects which *The Independent* has discussed, or can discuss, are of greater practical moment than the one presented in this symposium. More and more will wealth increase in this great Republic; more and more must we judge men by their generosity toward God and man. God must have a very poor opinion of the selfishness of creatures who live for themselves alone; it is certain that intelligent men have come to estimate such at their true value. Lord Bacon was right when he said: "Defer not charities till death, for certainly if a man weigh it rightly he that does so is rather liberal of another man's than his own." God loveth a cheerful giver, as the Scripture teacheth us. So do men. Only as we have the spirit of the Lord Jesus, who, though rich for our sakes became poor, can we have the highest honors from men and the approving smile of God the great giver.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION.

AS HELD BY MANY REPRESENTATIVE CALVINISTIC THEOLOGIAN.

BY PRESIDENT G. W. NORTHRUP, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Standard* (Cong.), Chicago, January 14, 1892.

AMONG those conceptions of the divine sovereignty which have prevailed more or less widely we notice the following:

1. The sovereignty of God is his right to govern the universe according to the deci-

sions of his arbitrary will. Creatures have no claims in equity upon God, and he is under no obligation to them, except such as he has freely assumed by promise or in some other way. "His absolute dominion regards not any qualities or conditions of its objects, but he can in virtue thereof inflict the highest torments upon the innocent and exempt from punishment the most guilty.

2. Another representation is that God by virtue of his absolute sovereignty decrees and effects everything which comes to pass, that his will is the sole efficient cause in the universe, as well in the realm of mind as in that of matter, working irresistibly to will and to do both in the evil and the good. Emmons—"It is as consistent with the moral rectitude of the Deity to produce sinful as holy exercises in the minds of men. He puts forth a positive influence to make moral agents act, in every instance of their conduct, as he pleases."

3. By the sovereignty of God is sometimes meant simply his independence and supremacy—the truth that by nothing outside of himself is he limited in his authority and sway over his creatures.

4. The term is often used to denote the fact that the reasons of God's acts are unrevealed. Wardlaw—"All that I mean by the sovereignty of God is that he does not see fit to reveal the reasons of his acts." Cunningham—"The Arminians virtually deny the sovereignty of God by undertaking and proposing to assign the reasons of all his dealings with men."

5. A very common statement is that the sovereignty of God is "his absolute right to govern and dispose of all his creatures simply according to his own good pleasure," or according to his absolute perfection.

OTHER CONCEPTIONS OF GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY.

Setting aside the first two of the above views as not worthy of consideration, we remark that in neither of the others do we find clearly indicated the element characteristic of the doctrine of God's sovereignty as accepted by many representative Calvinists. All theologians will admit that God is supreme and independent, that he often acts from reasons which are unrevealed, and that his will is always exercised in harmony with his nature. There is, however, a radical difference of view as to the true nature of God's absolute perfection,—some divines predicating of him, as an essential excellency, a principle of action which others affirm to be not only no excellency at all, but inconsistent with any worthy view of

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his character. The idea of the divine sovereignty to which we refer may be indicated in the following way: There is in God, if we may so speak, a twofold principle of action, by virtue of which some of his acts are morally necessary, while others are optional. In requiring perfect obedience of all moral agents, in exercising complacency towards the holy, in punishing the incorrigible, according to their wickedness—in these and similar ways God acts not according to his discretion, but under the behest of his absolute holiness or righteousness. But in purposing to create the universe, to permit the fall of some of the angels and of Adam, in deciding to whom of the human race to extend, and from whom to withhold, renewing grace—in these and like matters God acts as a sovereign, “being absolutely free to will or not will, and to will the precise opposite of that which he does will.”

In exercising the prerogative of sovereignty his acts are optional, while in meeting the demands of holiness or righteousness his acts are necessary in the sense that no other course is morally possible.

Shedd—“Sovereignty denotes optional power; that is, the power to act or not in a given instance. A sovereign that has no alternative is none at all. God is a sovereign and the highest of all. He may create a universe or not as he pleases. Were he obliged or compelled to create he would not be sovereign in creating. He may arrange and order his universe as he pleases. If he were confined to but one order he would not be sovereign in his providence. In his election of a sinner to salvation, God as supreme, independent, and sovereign, acts with entire liberty of decision, and not as shut up to one course.”

Hill, *Lectures in Divinity*, (page 562)—“It must be admitted upon the Calvinistic system that God might have prevented this deviation and this suffering; that as no dire necessity restrains the Almighty from communicating any measure of grace to any of his creatures, the unmerited favor which was shown to some might have been shown to others also; and therefore, that all the variety of transgression, and the consequent misery of his creatures, may be traced back to the unequal distribution of that grace which he was not bound to impart to any, but which, although he might have imparted it to all, he chose to give only to some.”

Edwards, (IV. 548)—1. “God can, without prejudice to the glory of any of his attributes, bestow salvation on any of the children of men, except on those who have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost”—an

exception which he made in the exercise of his sovereign discretion. 2. “He may refuse salvation to any sinner whatsoever without prejudice to the honor of any of his attributes.”

WHAT SUCH CONCEPTIONS INVOLVE.

But it is needless to multiply quotations from representative Calvinistic writers, expressing or implying the same idea of the divine sovereignty. Edwards is one of the most penetrating, logical, and luminous thinkers in the history of the church, and in the sermon referred to he sets forth in a full and powerful way the doctrine of God's sovereignty as a prerogative in the exercise of which he is entirely free, as we have said, to will the precise opposite of that which he does will in the case of any individual. He remarks that, “if it would in itself be prejudicial to any of his attributes to bestow or refuse salvation, then God would not in that matter act as absolutely sovereign; it would then cease to be a merely arbitrary thing, or a matter of absolute liberty.” An act of sovereignty is, then, “a merely arbitrary thing,” “a matter of absolute liberty,” the exact opposite of which is equally in his power, and would involve no prejudice to the honor of any of his attributes. According to this representation God does not and cannot act as a sovereign except in cases in which two or more courses of action are morally possible, or consistent with his perfections. If, then, there are several courses of action which are optional with God, they must be equally excellent, equally worthy of himself. For to suppose that he does or can adopt a less in preference to a more wise and glorious mode of procedure, would impugn his absolute perfection. We must, then, regard the following propositions as true:

1. God decreed to elect a part of mankind and to reprobate the rest, and remains God, infinitely blessed and glorious.

2. Had he reversed these decrees as regards the individuals included in them, electing those whom he reprobated, and reprobating those whom he elected, he would have remained God, infinitely blessed and glorious.

3. Had he decreed to include in either of these purposes any number of individuals less than the whole human race, he would have remained God, infinitely blessed and glorious.

4. Had he decreed the damnation of all, he would have remained God, infinitely blessed and glorious.

5. Had he decreed the salvation of all,

he would have remained God, infinitely blessed and glorious.

WHAT THEY REQUIRE US TO ACCEPT.

Let us consider, now, what view of the character of God these propositions require us to accept. Having made an atonement sufficient for the whole world, God is now able, acting in complete harmony with his infinite perfections, to bestow salvation on all mankind,—those only excepted who have committed the unpardonable sin,—which exception he was entirely free not to make : and yet, notwithstanding the amplitude of the provisions of grace, he can refuse salvation to a part or all mankind, acting in a manner equally honorable and glorious. The Scriptures teach that he will bring “a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues” to the summit of finite honor and blessedness, fitted and destined to be forever with Jesus Christ, the witnesses of his exaltation and the sharers of his glory. We would inquire, now, if it would be speaking of God “the thing that is right,” to say that it was optional with him—morally possible for him—a procedure that would have involved no violence to any principle of his nature—to have decreed to make an atonement in Jesus Christ, and yet, to consign to a state of everlasting sin and misery this great multitude, in whose regeneration, sanctification, and glorification, every divine perfection is displayed in the most impressive and glorious manner? The Scriptures also teach that a part—apparently a large part—of our race, “shall go away into everlasting punishment,” every one of whom is certain to commit more acts of sin and to endure more suffering than have been committed and endured by all beings in the universe since “the angels that sinned were cast down to hell.” Again, we would inquire if we are bound to believe that it was optional with God—morally possible for him—a procedure which would have involved no violence to any principle of his nature—to have decreed the everlasting holiness and felicity of this multitude, in which case every one of them would perform more holy acts, and enjoy more happiness than have been performed and enjoyed in the universe since the first rational spirits cried one to another, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty !”

These questions, we are told, are to be answered in the affirmative. If God had decreed to consign to the inconceivable horrors of hell all those “whose names are written in the Lamb’s book of life,” and if

he had decreed to bring to the ineffable glories of heaven those to whom Christ will say : “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,” he would have acted, it is affirmed, in a manner equally wise and worthy of himself as the creator and governor of the universe. But do the Scriptures warrant us in ascribing to God a prerogative in the exercise of which he is free—morally, absolutely free—to act in the way here indicated,—to ordain to dishonor and wrath any part of our race, when able to bring all to a state of eternal blessedness, acting in harmony with every principle of his nature? Is it credible that God, who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to the shame and agony of the cross in order to accomplish its redemption, would or could consign to eternal death any whom he could ordain to eternal life, without departing one iota from the most wise and perfect method of moral government? In our judgment to suppose that he has done, or could have done this would contradict our necessary idea of his absolute perfection. And if God decreed the damnation of a part of our race, every one of whom he could have decreed to save, without prejudice to the glory of any of his attributes—his power, or wisdom, or independence, or immutability, or truth, or holiness, or justice, or righteousness, or benevolence, or mercy, or patience—we challenge any one to suggest a reason for his action which would not involve, logically, the denial of his benevolence. Observe that the question here presented is not the one with which the Calvinistic system is supposed to be burdened and which necessarily baffles our intelligence, why of two individuals between whom there is *no* difference as regards the reasons of his action God elects one and passes by the other ; but why he reprobates any, seeing that he is free and able in every legitimate sense of these terms—metaphysically and morally free and able on the ground of the atonement, to bring to the perfection and glory of the heavenly world the whole human race—leaving none of them “to dwell with the devouring fire,” none “to be cast into hell, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,” none to call in vain to the mountains and rocks, “Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath of the lamb.” If of the five propositions stated above, the last were true, the salvation of all men would be in our judgment, as certain as the existence of God ; but the acceptance of all of them as

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true—which the theory under consideration requires—necessarily implies that all of them are false; that is, that God is not infinitely blessed and glorious in perfection, but is wholly destitute of benevolence, and consequently of every moral excellence—having only the metaphysical properties of self-existence, independence, intelligence, and almighty will.

REASONS EXAMINED.

Let us examine some of the reasons which are urged in vindication of the benevolence of God in decreeing the damnation of a part of mankind though entirely free to decree the salvation of all.

1. It is urged that God has an absolute right to exercise justice in dealing with mankind involved in sin and guilt. But the mere right to exercise justice would not render its actual exercise consistent with benevolence if it were optional with him, if he were entirely free, to exercise his mercy in the case of every human being—as free to bring all as a part of our race to the awards of the heavenly world.

2. It is held that divine justice would be more clearly and impressively illustrated by the everlasting punishment of a part of mankind than it could be in case all were to be saved. But this supposition contradicts the theory which affirms that the honor of no one of the divine attributes would be diminished or prejudiced by the decree of universal salvation, but that all of them would be as gloriously manifested in the salvation of all men, as they would in the salvation of a part and the destruction of a part.

The atonement is an infinitely glorious illustration of the justice of God; it is as the apostle declares (Rom. iii. 25, 26), a perfect theodicy, clearing the character of God in relation to the moral scandal which our world presents, and so satisfying his righteous indignation against mankind that he can "himself be just and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." And who can doubt that if God can glorify himself equally in the manifestation of wrath and of mercy in dealing with men, he will, in every instance, manifest his mercy, for the exercise of mercy is, while the exercise of wrath is not, congenial to his nature. "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked." It is of course true, that if men go on in sin and die impenitent justice must demand that they be punished according to their guilt; but this fact has no bearing on the question before us, for the theory declares that there was no

demand of justice forbidding God to regenerate and pardon these same persons.

3. It is said that it is the will of God to manifest his sovereignty and that his sovereignty like his other attributes is manifested in the exercise of it (Edwards.) But if God should pardon all men his acts would be as truly acts of sovereignty as they would be in case he should pardon a part and refuse to pardon the rest.

Should it be urged, however, as it commonly is that divine sovereignty must be manifested both in the way of wrath and of mercy in order that its true nature may be most clearly and impressively revealed, we would inquire:

(1) If the reprobation of one individual, or at most a few hundred, representing classes ranging from the lowest to the highest in guilt, would not be sufficient to answer the end here suggested—the display of sovereignty in the way of wrath?

(2) If it were necessary for God in order to make the most perfect self revelation, to exercise his sovereignty in consigning to hell such and so many of our race as are included in the purpose of reprobation, how could it have been optional with him to decree the salvation of any one of this number? Is it optional with God to reveal himself otherwise than in the most perfect manner? And if it is optional with him to do this, how far would he be free to go in making an imperfect self-revelation? to the extent that the revelation would have no excellency at all?

4. It is held by many that the reprobation of a part of mankind is not only consistent with, but required by, infinite benevolence. This is the view of those theologians who regard benevolence as the fundamental ethical perfection of God. According to this theory God is determined in all his dealings with angels and with mankind, by supreme regard for the greatest good of creation. He purposed to save every man whom he could save consistently with this end. Had he decided to save the whole world, or to save one man, more or less, than he will in fact save, he would have defeated the end of infinite benevolence, choosing an inferior instead of a superior good, which would be a denial of himself. But it would be difficult to advance an idea more profoundly repugnant to our deepest moral convictions than to say that God decreed the everlasting sin and anguish of a large part, or even of one, of the human race, in order to secure to the rest a higher degree of felicity. And yet many have so conceived and represented

"him whose nature and whose name is Love." A theologian of fame in the latter part of the eighteenth century, could write: "The blessing of election, somewhat like the Sibylline books, rises in value, proportionately to the fewness of its objects." According to this notion, it would seem that to be embraced in the infinite and everlasting love of God, would be a blessing hardly worth having if all men were to share in it; and that, since the "great salvation" rises in value, "proportionately to the fewness of its objects," it would reach its maximum value, in case only one person should obtain the felicity and glory of the heavenly world. So holy men of old thought and wrote of God and "his unspeakable gift." But it is obvious that this theory, based on the idea of benevolence as fundamental in God, is utterly inconsistent with the ascription to him of an optional power in dealing with men; for the law of benevolence, which is the rule of all his acts, determined the decrees of election and reprobation, as regards both the number and the particular individuals to be included in each.

5. It is conjectured that there may be some unrevealed and inconceivable principle in the nature of God in virtue of which he refuses to pardon a part of our race. But this unknown principle, whatever it may be, since it leaves him entirely free in relation to all men to exercise mercy in which he infinitely delights, cannot move him to exercise wrath in which he solemnly declares that he has no pleasure.

FALLACIES IN THE REASONING.

All these attempts to reconcile the action of God, in dealing with those who perish, with his infinite benevolence are necessarily rendered futile by the irrational and unscriptural nature of the assumption which they are designed to justify—viz.: that God ordained to dishonor and wrath those whom he was absolutely free to ordain to eternal life—whom he could have purposed to renew and sanctify and glorify, acting in harmony with every principle of his being.

Dr. Shedd asks: "What *sovereignty* has God in the salvation of a sinner, if he has no alternative in regard to election, regeneration and pardon, if eternal justice requires that he elect and forbids that he pass by; if eternal justice requires that he regenerate, and forbids that he leave in unregeneracy; if eternal justice requires that he pardon and forbids that he refuse to pardon?"

We think Dr. Shedd in error in supposing that the rejection of the notion of divine

sovereignty which he defends, compels, logically, the admission that *eternal justice* requires God to elect, regenerate and pardon sinners. Suppose we substitute "infinite wisdom" for "eternal justice" in the above quotation, it will then read: "What *sovereignty* has God in the salvation of the sinner if infinite wisdom requires that he elect and forbids that he pass by; if infinite wisdom requires that he regenerate and forbids that he leave in unregeneracy; if infinite wisdom requires that he pardon and forbids that he refuse to pardon?"

Is it reasonable and scriptural to believe that in deciding to adopt the existing plan of creation God was guided by his infinite wisdom, by his absolute perfection, so that this plan, embracing the universe in its whole extent and everlasting duration, including all his acts in relation to angelic intelligence, holy and apostate, and in relation to the human race in their unfallen state, and in their state of sin and guilt, and of gracious probation, is the most wise and perfect plan which the infinite mind of God could conceive? If this representation is reasonable and scriptural, then it is right to say, that the infinite wisdom, the absolute perfection of God, required him to include in the purpose of election such and so many men as are actually included in it, and to include in the purpose of reprobation such and so many men as are actually included in it; that had he decreed to elect or reprobate one more or less, or to reprobate one of those whom he elected, or to elect one of those whom he reprobated, he would have acted less wisely and less worthily of himself, and, therefore, inconsistently with his infinite perfection.

If this position is correct, it was not optional with God, in the sense in which the term is commonly used, to elect all men, or to reprobate all men, or to elect those whom he reprobated, and to reprobate those whom he elected. The decisive question here is not, what claims, in equity man has upon God, or what are his rights in relation to them, but what is most congruous with God's essential being; what is his obligation to himself, as the all-perfect creator and governor of the universe, to satisfy the promptings of his love, so far as he can do so, acting in harmony with all his other perfections. Love is an essential and infinitely glorious attribute of God, whose mighty impulses he will infallibly satisfy—must needs satisfy—unless restrained by some behest arising from his absolute holiness. When we once consider how profoundly opposed sin is to the holy nature of

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God, the urgency of his entreaties and expostulations with sinners, crying out night and day, "O, do not that abominable thing which I hate"; the fierceness of his indignation against those who trample upon his laws and defy his authority; his amazing self sacrifice in Jesus Christ to render the exercise of mercy possible; the inconceivably dreadful doom of apostate angels and of the incorrigible of our race,—hell with its horrors of outer darkness, and of everlasting fear, and shame, and regret, and remorse, and despair,—we are constrained to reject the theory which finds the explanation of this awful reality in the notion of the divine sovereignty as a prerogative whose exercise is optional in the sense in which it is held by representative Calvinistic theologians, and to believe that nothing short of some absolute impossibility, metaphysical or moral, could have prevented God from decreeing the regeneration and pardon of all mankind; and their everlasting holiness and happiness.

STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE AS PREFERRED.

The sovereignty of God is his right and power to constitute and govern the universe according to his absolute ethical perfection: it implies supremacy, independence, and infinite moral excellency, but not optional power in the sense that he is entirely free to will the exact opposite of that which he does will. He exercised his sovereignty in adopting the plan of the existing universe because of its supreme excellency as including those methods of action most worthy of himself. It is an assumption for the support of which there is no evidence accessible to the human mind, that there were other plans precisely equal to the one adopted in point of perfection as expressive of the mind and heart of God; or that he has ever performed, or ever will or can perform an act, the opposite of which, viewed in all its relations and bearings, would be equally wise and excellent, equally befitting himself as infinitely benevolent and absolutely holy.

God is a sovereign and the highest of all, not because he possesses a prerogative in the exercise of which he is free to choose any one of an infinity of systems of creation, whether equal or unequal, in point of excellency; but because he possesses the power and the right to govern and dispose of all his creatures according to the dictates of his infinite intelligence, making himself his own highest law, and highest good, and highest end. We deny that the Bible justifies the ascription to God of a prerogative in virtue

of which he was entirely free to ordain to eternal life those whom he will consign to the congenial companionship of the devil and his angels.

It is as self-evident as any truth in mathematics that a perfect human father, remaining such, could not but pursue a course which would win back to virtue and happiness his wayward son, in case he knew infallibly that course to be consistent with the best interests of the universe and the highest glory of God. And it cannot be less certain that our heavenly Father, of whose love for his disobedient children the most perfect human love is but an infinitely inadequate illustration, will save every one whom it is optional with him to save—every one whom he knows he can save consistently with the best interests of his universal kingdom, and without prejudice to the glory of any of his attributes.

This position does not contradict nor is it in any degree inconsistent with, the teaching of Scripture, that salvation is in every instance in which it is bestowed a matter of pure and unbounded grace,—the mighty constraint of divine love enhancing immeasurably the graciousness of its expression towards those who deserve nothing but the retribution of divine justice.

According to the teaching of the scriptures there is in God a principle of absolute ethical limitation or self-restraint. He cannot deny himself; he cannot lie; he cannot be tempted with evil; he cannot give his glory to another. It is because of this principle or quality of the nature of God which renders it impossible that he should do what is unbefitting or unworthy of himself, that all agree in making affirmations like the following: God cannot command essential wickedness, as malevolence, ingratitude, selfishness; he cannot make the wicked happy in their wickedness; he cannot punish wrong-doers more than they deserve; he cannot require of unfallen beings more than he qualifies them to perform, etc. This principle of morally necessary self-restraint is not a limitation in the proper sense of the term: it is not a fetter on the life of God, but is essential to the highest freedom; he would not be more, but infinitely less, perfect if he could deny himself. The principle of God's self-limitation or self-restraint is not his love or his holiness, but his absolute ethical perfection of which holiness and love are the essence and which is the rule and law of his will in all its acts in creation, providence, and redemption. We have here, not a mere hypothesis, nor an idea derived from theological specu-

by which God determined to give reality to the existing plan of creation; one purpose involving an infinite number of executive acts in time and space, which *executive acts*, not *purposes*, stand to each other in both logical and chronological relations. Logically and chronologically the creation of Adam must precede his trial, and his trial must precede his fall, and his fall must precede his redemption as a fact. But the acts of God in this affair are a part of the infinity of executive acts by which he carries out his one, eternal purpose to so constitute and govern the universe that all things would take place precisely as they do take place. But to speak of the decree to create as prior, in the logical order, to the decree to permit the fall, and the decree to permit the fall, as prior to the decree to provide redemption, implies a total and confusing misconception.

NOT A SPECULATION.

If it is said that this is theological speculation, that all who essay the transcendental heights of this region are sure to be stricken with intellectual vertigo, etc., we reply by denying that it is a theological speculation that God is a being of absolute perfection, that he cannot deny himself, or that, since benevolence is an essential perfection of his nature, he will infallibly glorify it—must needs glorify it—in the salvation of mankind, so far as he can do so, without prejudice to any other principle of his being more fundamental than benevolence itself. We add in conclusion that though no man is required, or may presume to be able, “to justify the ways of God” in relation to our world, it may be proper for one to reject, and to attempt to justify himself in rejecting, some of the ways ascribed to God under the supposed exigencies of logic. Infinitely more reasonable would it be to deny the application to the mind of God of the fundamental laws of logic—to hold that he can choose a part of the members of a class without “passing by” the rest, than to attribute to him ways of action self-evidently inconsistent with his supreme ethical perfections.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), November, 1891.

I. THE TENDENCY OF RECENT CRITICISM.*

I HAD for some time had it in mind to

* The series of papers of which this is the first is planned to fall under the following heads: (1) “The Tendency of Recent

attempt a survey of the present position of the Johannean question, taking as a text what I conceive to be the most conspicuous phenomenon of recent times in respect to it—the mutual *rapprochement* of the two great schools of opinion on the subject—when I found that the task had been already done for me. The same attempt had been already made by one who possesses special qualifications for the purpose. Among German theologians, Dr. Schürer, for some time past of Giessen, but recently transferred to Kiel, holds an eminent place for the combination of solid learning with evenly balanced judgment. He distinctly belongs to the party which would be commonly called “critical;” and yet I do not know any writer who would command at the same time an equal degree of confidence on the side opposed to his own. From such a hand a review of the Johannean question is peculiarly welcome; and it is this which Dr. Schürer offers in a lecture delivered in 1889 before a clerical conference at Giessen.* But what especially caught my own attention in this was that it took its start from the same point which I had set before myself—the gradual convergence of the two wings of the critical advance, and the possibility of obtaining an understanding between them.

Schürer begins his address by mapping out the history of the criticism of the Fourth Gospel into three broadly marked periods. The first is headed by Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, published in 1820, which really, if not exactly in name, heads the list of works in which the authorship of the Gospel has been disputed, and which is rightly credited by Weiss† with anticipating all the main lines of later destructive criticism. At a subsequent date, and in fact on three distinct occasions, Bretschneider deliberately withdrew his contentions, and expressed himself convinced by the replies which they called forth.‡ To the same result contributed in a still higher degree the impressive personality of Schleiermacher, who came forward as a vehement champion of the genuineness of the Gospel. The decisive point with Schleiermacher was the

Criticism:” (2) “External Evidence;” (3) “Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics;” (4) and (5) “The Author;” (6) “Partition and Derivation Theories.” [NOTE.—By request we shall publish the full series.—ED. MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.]

* *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Johanneischen Frage*, published in *Vorträge d. theol. Konferenz zu Giessen*, 1889. Since this was written an English version of Dr. Schürer's paper, with some additions and alterations, has appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for September. A reply by the present writer was inserted in the next number.

† *Einleitung*, p. 611 f.

‡ For a full and clear account of Bretschneider's work, and of its place in his life, and bearing upon his general theological position, see Watkins, *Bampton Lectures* (1890), pp. 179-190.

"Totaleindruck"—the impression of the Gospel as a whole—"the impossibility of inventing a picture such as that there given of Christ."* The difference between St. John and the Synoptics was parallel to that between the twofold presentation of Socrates by Plato and Xenophon: St. John had as much the deeper insight as Plato. For two decades, or rather more, these arguments held the field. Even the cautious and critical Credner gave a full adhesion to them.

The next period opens with an influence as great as that of Schleiermacher. Ferdinand Christian Baur first expressed his views on the Fourth Gospel in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1844. His effort here, as elsewhere, was to realize vividly the leading ideas of the Gospel, and place them in what seemed to be their historical surroundings. In the first part of this attempt he doubtless succeeded better than in the second. Baur's conception of the Gospel as an embodiment of the conflict between light and darkness caused by the incarnation of the Logos was at least far nearer the mark than the impossible date (160-170 A.D.) which he assigned to the Gospel. Within his own school the influence of Baur reigned supreme; but without it, the effect of these radical views was only to excite a more energetic opposition. What we see in this period is the Tübingen School, concentrated and unanimous, on the one side, and a heterogeneous body of outside opinion over against it, on the other.

This state of things, again, lasted for rather more than twenty years. Schürer dates the beginning of his third period from the appearance of vol. i. of Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* in 1867. From that time to the present he thinks that the most conspicuous tendency had been that of which I have already spoken—the tendency towards a narrowing of the gap which separates the opposing forces from each other by mutual concessions.

Summarily these concessions are as follows. It is admitted that the external evidence carries back the composition of the Gospel some thirty or forty years beyond the date at which Baur had been inclined to place it. In other words, that at the very latest it must have been in existence in 130 A.D.; it is admitted, further, that the Gospel is not in any case a purely ideal composition, but that it embodies a greater or less amount of genuine and authentic tradition; and, lastly, it is admitted that the

divergence between the Synoptic Gospels and St. John is not as wide as had been supposed.

On the affirmative side there are many, and it may be said an increasing number, who are prepared to allow that, even assuming the author of the Gospel to be St. John, still there is in the Gospel a certain subjective element; that in particular the discourses in the Gospel are not reproduced exactly as they were spoken, but with such unconscious moulding in form, if not in substance, as they could not well escape after lying for some fifty or sixty years in the Apostle's mind.

I follow Schürer's estimates of the concessions that are made in the critical camp, so as to guard against overstatement, though I think that we shall be able to put rather more emphasis upon some of them. At the same time, there are of course on both sides writers who cannot be exactly embraced under the definition given. A special word should be said on some of these.

The most irregular combatants in the critical army are Thoma and Jacobsen. Thoma has devoted to his subject a large volume of nearly 900 pages, entitled *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (Berlin, 1882). In this he goes through the Gospel chapter by chapter, and reduces the whole—not merely a salient point here or there—to elaborate and systematic allegory. The Gospel is with him from first to last the fictitious clothing of an idea or group of ideas. "All the narratives are allegory, all the persons are types, all the discourses are dogma, all the notes of time and place, all the names and numbers, are taken symbolically." With the result that, as Weiss puts it, "the most spiritual of the Gospels becomes a second-hand and artificial mosaic, which would do no dishonour to the perverse ingenuity of a Talmudist or to the fantastic imagination of an Alexandrian."* Two brief specimens will, I think, be enough to give an idea of what this work is like. The question of the disciples in St. John i. 38, *ποῦ μένεις*; "Where abidest Thou?" is suggested by the passionate words of the lover in the Song of Songs (i. 7): "Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon." The double hearing before Annas and Caiaphas is introduced because the false prophet in the Apocalypse, the counterpart of the true Lamb, the true High Priest, has two horns† (Rev. xiii. 11)! Schürer himself dismisses this book

* Schürer, *Vortrag*, p. 44, *Contemporary Review*, p. 390; cf. Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 303.

* *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1882, col. 221.
† *Die Genesis*, etc., pp. 407, 670.

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as "a perfect model of fantastic caprice;"* neither has it met with much more favour elsewhere, though we shall see that it contains some good points, forcibly and clearly stated.† A similar view to Thoma's seems to be taken by Höning.

Still less can we recognise the "spiritual Gospel" in Jacobsen's *Untersuchungen über das Johannes-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1884), a rude‡ attempt to explain the Fourth Gospel as constructed out of materials supplied by the Synoptic Gospels, especially St. Luke, with some further help from St. Paul. It is not without its significance for the scientific value of their inquiries that both Thoma and Jacobsen §—strange to say, in the company of so really learned a scholar as Hilgenfeld ||—defend the genuineness of the adulteress section (St. John vii. 53–viii. 11) as a part of the original Gospel.

Besides these, though in a different sense, we must also put in a place by himself an English writer, Rev. John A. Cross, Vicar of St. John's, Little Holbeck, Leeds. I shall have occasion later to come back to some of Mr. Cross' arguments, but there is one peculiarity in his position which it seems right to notice here. He has published a succession of articles in different quarters—in the *Westminster Review* (August, 1890), the *Critical Review* (February, 1891), and the *Classical Review* (December, 1890, April and June, 1891), dealing with various points in the evidence relating to the Fourth Gospel. Yet, although the tendency of his arguments is uniformly negative, he nowhere says in so many words that he does not believe the Gospel to have been written by St. John. He rejects most of the current arguments, but, for all we know, he may have others in reserve which supply their place more effectually. Now with Mr. Cross' private opinion, as such, I am not concerned. He has every right to keep it to himself, if he wishes to do so. But I cannot help pointing out that criticism of this purely negative kind is not appropriate to a historical subject. It is the criticism of the law-courts, not of the historian. History consists in weighing and testing competing hypotheses, and deciding which fits best and with least forcing into the delicate framework of surrounding facts. But Mr. Cross gives us no alternative to consider. The very utmost that his argu-

ments would amount to, supposing that they were more entirely valid than I think they are, would be that other hypotheses besides that of Johannean authorship were not excluded. When that was proved, we should still have to test those hypotheses in the same manner, and see that enough was not left in the old view to make it, after all deductions, preferable to the new. However I would not deny that the arguments in question have their use. They will at least prevent conventional and indolent acquiescence. And in the papers which follow, they may make it necessary for me to go over some ground which I should otherwise have felt free to pass by.

I hope, as I proceed, to do what I can at once to define more closely the extent of the concessions with which the two opposing parties are meeting each other, and to make a few remarks on the points which are still in controversy. But as a preliminary we may take a glance at the general drift and current of inquiry. This will appear better from looking broadly at the literature of the subject than from allowing ourselves to be entangled at once in the study of details.

It cannot fail to strike us how frequently, along with the freest criticism, even those writers who deny that St. John wrote the Gospel as we have it yet have recourse to the supposition that he had some direct or indirect connexion with it. It is this tendency which has gained so much in strength during the latest period of Johannean criticism. It has taken several forms. Some writers make, as it were, a vertical division in the contents of the Gospel; others, a horizontal. Some attempt to mark off a Gospel within the Gospel—certain portions which they regard as genuine and apostolic, while the rest is of the nature of later supplemental addition. Others would not venture upon drawing a definite line of this kind, but they would say that the recollections of an Apostle or eye-witness have passed through the hands of disciples, and that what we now have is not so much the recollections pure and simple, as the same recollections seen through a medium, coloured and modified by the action of another mind than that on which they were first impressed.

The first of these two kinds of partition-theory* had been tried by several writers in quick succession, some fifty years ago: first by Weisse, in 1838; † then by Schenkel, in

* Page 56; see also Bayschlag, *Leben Jesu*, vol. i. p. 116.

† Holtzmann in *Theol. Literaturbericht* (1885), p. 79.

‡ Mangold speaks justly of his "hier und da recht herben Kritik" (*ap. Bleek, Einleitung*, fourth edition, Berlin, 1886, p. 291).

§ *Untersuchungen*, p. 100.

|| *Die Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1854), p. 285.

* I believe that I owe the phrase to Archdeacon Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 246.

† In *Die Evangelische Geschichte Kritisch-philosophisch bearbeitet*. (Leipzig, 1838.)

1840; * lastly by Schweizer, in 1841.† All these attempts, it will be seen, fall in the first stage of the controversy, before Baur had entered into it. They have been revived quite recently, on lines not very dissimilar from those originally traced, in two rather notable instances. One is the elaborate work of Dr. H. H. Wendt, professor at Heidelberg, entitled *Die Lehre Jesu*, of which the first volume appeared in 1886 and the second last year. The other is the still more remarkable, if somewhat eccentric, series of works by Dr. Hugo Delff, *Die Geschichte des Rabbi Jesus von Nazareth* (Leipzig, 1889); *Das vierte Evangelium* (Husum, 1890); *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. vierten Evangeliums* (Husum, 1890). Into the more detailed views of these writers I hope to enter later. Both vindicate by far the greater part of the Gospel for an eye-witness, if not actually for the Apostle St. John.

Wendt adopted the traditional identification of the author with the Apostle. Dr. Delff in this, as in most other matters, takes a way of his own. He believes that the author bore the name of "John," but that he was the person afterwards known as "the presbyter," not the Apostle. It is not however as "presbyter" that Dr. Delff is most fond of describing him; the phrase which he more often uses is "the high priest John." This at once recalls the famous letter of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, about the year 190 A.D., an extract from which has been preserved by Eusebius,‡ appealing amongst other authorities on the Paschal Controversy to John, "who lay on the bosom of the Lord, who acted as priest, wearing the plate of gold (ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς),§ both witness and teacher." The "golden plate" is that worn by the high priest with the inscription HOLINESS TO THE LORD (Exod. xxviii. 36). Delff therefore argues that ἱερεὺς is used broadly for "high priest," as even in the Mishnah.¶ He infers that although the name "John" does not appear on the list of high priests, he belonged nevertheless to the high-priestly family, the γένος ἀρχιερατικόν of Acts iv. 6, Josephus B. J. iv. 3, 6, etc. He interprets πεφορεκώς as implying "not that the wearing of the plate was a constant attribute of his person or of his priestly dignity, but that he had worn it once in the past, and therefore that

he once fulfilled the high-priestly functions in the dress of the high priest." He supports this by reference to the provision in the Talmud that if the high priest was prevented from acting on the Day of Atonement, a substitute might act for him. Delff thinks that John, who wrote the Gospel, had once acted in that capacity. In that case, the idea of his having *once* so acted would be contained not, as Delff seems to think, in πεφορεκώς, but rather in the aorist ἐγενήθη. Still it may be noticed as perhaps a slight argument against the common view that it was at Ephesus that John took to wearing the high priest's plate, that the term is πεφορεκώς and not φορῶν. Delff is quite right in pointing out that Polycrates, who was himself bishop of Ephesus, and an old man of at least sixty-five when he wrote, as well as counting seven bishops among his relatives, represents an exceptionally good and broadly based tradition. The passage is at once important and enigmatic, but I incline to think that some literal fact lies behind it, and that it is not merely a high-flown metaphor, as Bishop Lightfoot preferred to suppose.* It is an element in the question that Epiphanius ascribes the wearing of the πέταλον also to James the brother of the Lord—perhaps on the authority of Hegesippus, from whom other statements on the immediate context seem to be taken.† This would not be quite such good evidence as that of Polycrates, but there is the further possibility that Epiphanius may have transferred the statement from St. John to St. James by a slip of memory.‡

It was certainly an ingenious idea of Delff's to claim for the author of the Gospel this connexion with the high-priestly family, because it would at once explain not only the allusion to high placed personages like Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, but also the accounts of secret sittings of the Sanhedrin, like that at which it was decided to compass our Lord's death, and the statement that many of the chief rulers believed on Him, though they were afraid to confess it.§ This however is gained at the cost of sacrificing the passages which relate to the Galilean ministry as interpolations. And it is a question whether the simple statement of St. John xviii. 15, "that disciple was known (γνωστός) to the

* In an article in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*.

† In *Das Ev. Johannis*, etc., kritisch untersucht. (Leipzig, 1841.)

‡ H. E. v. 24, iii. 31.

§ So most MSS. of Eusebius, here and in iii. 31, for πεφορεκώς.

¶ *Das vierte Evangelium*, p. 9.

* Galatians, p. 345, ed. 2; cf. *Philippians*, p. 252, ed. 1.

† Compare Epiph., *Har.* lxxviii. 14, with Euseb., *H. E.* ii. 23.

‡ Cf. Lipsius, *Apokr. Aposte.gesch.* ii. 2, 246. It would be

rather in favour of Epiphanius' statement as at least in keeping with that of Hegesippus, preserved in Eusebius, that

Hegesippus makes St. James enter the holy place. There is

however in any case a legendary element in this narrative.

§ St. John xi. 47-53, xii. 42, 43; cf. vii. 45-52.

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high priest," does not sufficiently satisfy the facts on the traditional view.* It satisfies at least the data of the Gospel, which does seem to imply that the author had some private source of information in these higher circles. It would be enough that he should be in contact with them; he need not have mixed among them on terms of actual equality.

The two writers whom I have mentioned, Wendt and Delff, both venture upon a definite excision of certain parts of the Gospel as not directly proceeding either from the Apostle or the presbyter. I hope to discuss their theories on this head at the close of these papers. But in assigning the main body of the Gospel to John, whether Apostle or presbyter, they naturally do not exclude a certain amount of redaction by the final editor. It is a more common view in the critical school to ascribe the whole of the Gospel to such an editor, but to believe that he embodied in it an authentic—and many would add Johannine—tradition.

Of course there are many different shades in this admission. Ewald regards the Gospel as dictated by the Apostle to the willing scribes by whom he was surrounded. He finds in the style traces of this mode of composition. The opinion which he expresses on this head is interesting. "The sentences are short, but not seldom improved, repeated, supplemented, only at times more complicated in structure: this is just the manner of one who dictates words, sentences, and thoughts to an amanuensis, very different from the way in which Paul sketched out his thoughts in writing, and then left them for a skilful scribe to write out in a fair copy."† According to Ewald, the whole Gospel practically belongs to the Apostle. The scribes only put themselves forward in verses like St. John xix. 35, xxi. 24 f.

Reuss, in his fourth edition (to which alone I have access), speaks with much reserve on the subject of authorship, which he would seem to throw into—but not far into—the second century, but at the same time he allows that "a number of incidental details, notes of time and place, unimportant in themselves, of personal relations and particular circumstances of all kinds, may without forcing be referred to the statement or authority of an eye-witness;" and even the discourses, which are

questioned in the form in which they stand, are yet said to be "drawn from the purest sources, and to have their roots in the best soil"* (*gesundestem Boden*).

Renan, in his latest phase, after having at one time thought that the Gospel was written by a disciple of St. John during his lifetime, still refers it directly to his school, and sees in it in great part a reflection of the personal teaching of the Apostle.‡

Weizsäcker, in his *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, works up with great skill a picture of the school of St. John at Ephesus, which has for its twofold product at once the Apocalypse and the Gospel.

Even Holtzmann, in both editions of his *Einleitung*, admits that, with all its supernaturalism, the Gospel has not a little to show of the "hard, intractable facts of history."§ In like manner in his brief *Handcommentar* he has recourse "to personal recollections, whether of the Apostle himself, under whose flag the work seeks to pass itself, or of his disciples, or of other witnesses whom the author had met in Palestine."||

Schürer appears to adopt in his own person a view very similar to that of Weizsäcker. He summarizes that writer's opinion to the effect that the Gospel "everywhere rests upon a real tradition, but that this tradition has been handled with great freedom and persistently idealized."¶ He adds that the leading ideas of Weizsäcker seem to him to point out the way on which the sharply divided forces of the assailants and defenders of the genuineness of the Gospel may one day join hands. In full accord with this are some weighty words which occur in the course of a review of a work on the Fourth Gospel by Oscar Holtzmann. Oscar Holtzmann, a younger cousin—not brother—of the well-known Strassburg professor last mentioned, while allowing some traces of sound tradition in the Gospel, is inclined to reduce them to a minimum. On this Schürer remarks: "I confess that just these careful investigations of the author have strengthened me in the conviction that the contents of the Gospel cannot be understood merely as a free production on the basis of Synoptic materials, but that a separate tradition finds utter-

* *Gesch. d. heil. Schrift. N. T.* §§ 218, 220.

† *Les Évangiles* (1877), p. 228 ff.

‡ Ed. 1, p. 431; ed. 2, p. 457.

§ Page 18.

|| *Vortrag*, p. 57.

¶ As Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 262. The relationship is explained by the younger writer himself in the preface to his book (*Das Johannes-Evangelium*, Darmstadt, 1897, p. iv.). Heinrich Holtzmann has a brother whose name is "Otto" (*Einleitung*, p. vii.).

* It has often been pointed out that the fact that Zebedee, the father of John, had "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), shows him to have been a man of some substance.

† *Die Johannischen Schriften* (Göttingen, 1861), p. 50. The examples referred to are St. John iii. 22-24, iv. 1-3, 43-45.

ance (*durchklingt*) in it, although handled with supreme freedom."*

The extent of this freedom is a point on which I hope to join issue with Dr. Schürer later. For the present I am not concerned with controversy, but am simply adducing evidence to show how far the two sides have gone along the road to meet each other. It is now my duty to show how the gradual approximation is not confined to the critical camp, but has its place in the conservative ranks as well.

The subject on which the greatest concessions have been made by conservative writers is the *discourses*. It is coming to be allowed, even by those who uphold the genuineness of the Gospel, that these have undergone some greater or less modification in the mind of the Apostle before they came to be set down in writing.

Perhaps I may be permitted to begin by quoting some words of my own, written now some twenty years ago. They are the words of one who was only a beginner in theological or critical studies, but who was at least trying his best to look at the facts before him freshly and truthfully. It was urged at the outset that there were two questions which ought to be kept separate: the question whether the discourses in the Fourth Gospel represent accurately the words spoken by our Lord, and the further question, whether they are such as to have been committed to writing by an Apostle. The objections were stated thus:

"It is well known that the style and subjects of the Johannine discourses have from the first supplied one of the gravest arguments against the Gospel. It is urged against them doubly, that they are unlike the discourses contained in the Synoptic Gospels, which, on the other hand, correspond exactly to the description given of our Lord's discourses by tradition; and that while they differ from the discourses in the Synoptists, they present a close and suspicious similarity, both in style and matter, to the Epistle which goes under the name of St. John and was certainly written by the author of the Gospel."

To this it was replied by granting that both the difference and the likeness do exist, though both might be exaggerated on the question of degree. It was admitted that the discourses in the Synoptic Gospels agreed better with the description of our Lord's sayings by Justin Martyr than those in St. John; that among the latter were none which could be called in the strict sense "parables;" that the action was stationary, and not moving or dramatized; and that the thing figured was not cut loose from the figure. Further, that the dis-

courses in St. John were as a rule longer, and not progressive or self-evolving, as with the Synoptists, but frequently returning to the same point, appearing to revolve round a fixed centre, and that centre, not exclusively, but very largely, the Speaker Himself, His works, His person, faith in Him, that Divine Paraclete who was to take His place when He was gone.

What, it was asked, was to be said to these differences? If it was assumed, as it might be, that the Synoptic discourses accurately represent the original, was it probable that the Johannine discourses were equally authentic? Could two such different types at one and the same time be true? To a certain extent they could. Dr. Westcott, for instance, argued that the difference of style corresponded to a difference in locality; that it was one thing to address the simple, impressible peasants of Galilee, and another thing to meet the subtle and learned doctors of the law at Jerusalem; that there were traces in the Synoptists of the same exalted claims and self-assertion; and that it was only natural that the disciple "whom Jesus loved" should consciously or unconsciously mould his own utterances into the likeness of his Master's.

Every one, it was admitted, would feel that there was truth in these observations, and that they would carry us a certain way. But when it was asked if they would carry the whole way and cover the whole of the phenomena, it was thought that an absolute, impartial judge would say No. All the discourses in St. John were not placed in Judaea, neither were all those in the Synoptics placed in Galilee. The Johannine discourses were not all addressed to doctors of the law, and those in the Synoptists were not addressed exclusively to the populace; indeed the audiences did not seem to vary so very greatly. And the resemblance to the style of the Epistles extended to the discourses of the Baptist as well as to those of our Lord.

It seemed to follow from all this, that the discourses had undergone some sensible modification; and the only question was whether that modification was so great that they could not have been set down as we have them by an eye-witness and Apostle. This question was answered in the negative. It was thought that there was no greater modification than "might naturally result from a strong intellect and personality operating unconsciously upon the facts stored up in the memory, and gradually giving to them a different form, though without altering their essential nature and

* *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 330.

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substance." A Gospel, in short, written by St. John need not have been expected to differ in character very much from such a Gospel as we should have had, if one had been written, from the hands of St. Paul.*

All turned of course upon the range and extent of the alterations introduced into the discourses. We shall have to attempt to gauge this at a later stage. For the present we will only note the admissions of conservative critics. These, as we might suppose, differ considerably in degree. The reference made above to Dr. Westcott was to the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*; † but I doubt if the elaborate and masterly *Prolegomena* in the *Speaker's Commentary* go, in set terms at least, much farther. It is admitted that we are "brought in the later record to a new aspect of the person and work of Christ, to a new phase of Christian thought, to a new era in the history of the Christian Church;" ‡ but, as well as I can gather, the facts are supposed to have been already there, although previously unapprehended; there is no express allowance for colouring imparted by the mind of the Apostle.

Next to Dr. Westcott's among English commentaries in fulness and thoroughness is the treatment of the Gospel by Dr. H. R. Reynolds in the *Pulpit Commentary*. Dr. Reynolds writes thus:

"A subjective element cannot be denied so far as the choice of subject-matter is concerned, and even the order, the symmetry, the dramatic grandeur, and monotony of Divine substratum and ethical appeal; but it appears to me infinitely impossible that the subjectivity went so far as to create the form and substance of St. John's Gospel."

It is allowed as "conceivable that the author in the longer discourses may have introduced germane thoughts and words which belonged to different occasions," and that he "may moreover have selected those more notable and impressive teachings which justified and created in his own mind the sublime theodicy of the prologue;" but it is not allowed that he can have invented them.§

In like manner, Dr. Gloag, in his recent *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*,|| has "no hesitation in allowing a certain degree of subjectivity on the part of John. The thoughts and sentiments were those of Jesus, but John clothed them in his own language, and in some cases subjoins to

those discourses of Jesus his own reflections. Probably, also, he unites into one discourse utterances of Jesus spoken at different times."

Dr. Plummer, in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*,* gives an interesting extract from a letter of Cardinal Newman's, in which attention is called to the fact that the ancients did not use the third person for the indirect and paraphrastic narration so much as we do. Hence though the first person may be used, the style and words may be those of the reporter, and not of the speaker. I will close this *catena* of English writers with a striking passage from the *Bampton Lectures* † of Archdeacon Watkins:

"The key to the Fourth Gospel lies in translation, or, if this term has acquired too narrow a meaning, transmutation, re-formation, growth; nor need we shrink from the true sense of the terms development and evolution. I mean translation in language, from Aramaic into Greek; translation in time extending over more than half a century, the writer passing from manhood to mature old age; translation in place, from Palestine to Ephesus; translation in outward modes of thought, from the simplicity of Jewish fishermen and peasants, or the ritual of Pharisees and priests, to the technicalities of a people who had formed for a century the meeting ground, and in part the union, of the philosophies of East and West."

Time will compel me to restrict the like *catena* which it would be easy to make from Continental writers.

Godet allows for transference from Aramaic to Greek; he allows for compression; and he allows for the action of memory. The discourses of the Fourth Gospel are therefore with him, not so much a photograph as an extracted essence. But he will not admit that "the slightest foreign element" has been introduced.‡

Luthardt goes a step beyond Godet. He takes up a saying of Keim's, and admits that the Gospel is "to a high degree subjective," but asserts that it is a misuse of language to treat this as equivalent to "historically arbitrary."

"When Hilgenfeld thinks that the historical is sunk in the doctrinal, we can readily own it, rightly understood. What they call doctrinal is just the soul of the history, which shines out everywhere from the body of the history. It is true that this is not possible without a certain freedom in the handling of the historical materials, and, indeed, a greater freedom than we permit to ourselves and to others. But in antiquity in general, and on biblical ground in particular, they stood towards the historical material in a manner different from ours." §

* *Authenticity and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel* (London, 1882), pp. 69-74.

† Pages 263-265, 267 (ed. 3, 1867).

‡ *The Gospel of St. John*, vol. 1., p. cxxvii. (third edition, 1888).

§ Page 146 f.

‡ Page lxxvii.

* Page 100.

† Page 426 f.

‡ *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, i. 135 (Eng. trans. 1876).

§ *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel* (Eng. trans. 1875), p. 247 f.

Stronger even than this is the language used by Weiss and Beyschlag, not without a protest from Nösgen.* Weiss insists upon the free reproduction of the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, showing at once the style and doctrinal character of the Johannine Epistles. Not only the original text, he says, but the concrete historical relations of the words of Jesus are often effaced, while the evangelist concentrates his attention on their permanent significance and value in connexion with his view of the person of Christ.† And Beyschlag no less emphatically endorses Weizsäcker's phrase about the "double countenance" (*Doppelantlitz*, *Doppelgesicht*) of the Fourth Gospel and the twofold impression which it makes, at once historical and unhistorical.‡ Similarly Paul Ewald, another strong champion of the genuineness of the Gospel, nevertheless recognises its subjective character and the dominance of the idea.§

I do not of course wish to be answerable for all the expressions which have been quoted. As we go on, considerations will come into view which put a limit to the degree of subjectivity which can be admitted. I have only given a number of varied opinions, in order to bring out the common tendency which runs through them.

On both sides I have spoken of "concessions." We are apt to call any step which is made by one party towards another by that name. Yet it is really false and misleading. The differences of opinion with which we are concerned are not matters of negotiation, conducted on the principle of "give and take." Both sides, we may assume, are actuated by the same love and search for truth, and the determination to be satisfied with nothing less. But an open mind will listen to the arguments which are brought against as well as for its own conclusions. It is called upon for a decision, and it gives it to the best of its ability at the time. Still the dart *hæret lateri*. The impression sinks deeper and deeper. A certain unconscious shifting and adaptation takes place. And the next time the old decision is given it is in rather less confident tones, or not without substantial modification. So opponents gradually approach nearer to each other; and so they may be expected to approach. For truth is no monopoly, but is arrived at slowly and surely by the long co-operation, and the friction which is also co-operation, of many minds.

* *Gesch. d. neutest. Offenbarung*, i. 63.

† *Einleitung*, p. 607; *Leben Jesu*, i. 133, etc.

‡ *Leben Jesu*, p. 125. § *Hauptproblem*, etc., p. 5.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. With an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of WILLIAM GESENIUS as translated by EDWARD ROBINSON. Edited with constant reference to the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius as completed by E. Rödiger, and with authorized use of the latest German editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, by FRANCIS BROWN, D.D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, with the co-operation of S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Part I., 1891, Lexicon 8vo, pp. xii., 80. (75N-K.)

Robinson's Gesenius, which has been for fifty years the standard Hebrew-English Lexicon, at least on this side of the Atlantic, was in the first edition (1836) nothing more than a translation of Gesenius's *Lexicon manuale*, etc., 1834. In the second edition (1843) it was revised, in part after the author's copy for a new edition of the *Lexicon manuale*, in part, after the death of Gesenius (October 23d, 1842), in accordance with the author's latest opinion as expressed in his larger lexicon, the *Thesaurus* (Fasc. iii., 1839; iv., 1840; v., 1842). This part of Robinson's Lexicon, in its final form, is therefore "a condensed copy" of the *Thesaurus*. The Lexicon was stereotyped up to the point which the *Thesaurus* had then reached (p. 1032). In 1854, the last part of the *Thesaurus* having been completed by Rödiger (1853), Robinson revised the last two letters of the alphabet on the same plan. The edition of 1854 (so-called 5th edition; two title editions having been put on the market in 1849 and 1850) is, therefore, the final edition of Robinson's Gesenius. The half century which has intervened has not witnessed any such signal—I might almost say creative—achievements in Hebrew lexicography as those of which Gesenius's own works are the lasting monuments; but great progress has been made in Semitic philology, in geographical and archaeological research, and in the criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament text. In Germany the successive revisions of Gesenius's *Handwörterbuch* have followed this advance after a fashion, though they have by no means kept pace with it; but in this country and in England nothing of any note has been done in this direction.

It was evident to the editors of the present work at the outset that a mere revision of Robinson's Gesenius would be entirely inadequate; nor, in view of the general dissatisfaction with which scholars regarded the latest (8th to 11th) editions of the *Handwörterbuch* by Mühlau and Volek, could a translation or revision of that work meet the reasonable demands of modern learning. They became convinced "that their first and perhaps chief duty was to make a fresh and, as far as possible, exhaustive study of the Old Testament materials, determine the actual uses of words by detailed examination of every passage, comparing, at the same time, their employment in the related languages, and thus fix their proper meanings in Hebrew." While the labors of their predecessors have been freely used, they have therefore really

made a new dictionary. In the division of labor among the editors, Professor Driver has contributed the articles on the pronouns and particles; Professor Briggs, those on terms important to Old Testament Religion, Theology, and Psychology; while Professor Brown has undertaken the rest of the work and the editorial charge of the whole.

It is the unfortunate thing about a reviewer's task that in pointing out the features of a work which seem to him to admit of improvement—which I have done with the more freedom in this instance, because the printing of the Lexicon has only fairly begun—he but too easily conveys to the reader an impression less favorable than his own judgment of the whole. Let me, then, say at the outset that the Lexicon seems to me to be altogether in advance of any previous work of the kind, and to promise to be a credit and a gain to American and English scholarship. It is to be hoped that it may be carried to completion without further interruption.

In the disposition of the material, the etymological order of the *Thesaurus* has been adopted instead of the alphabetical order of Robinson and the *Handwörterbuch*; but the difficulties which this arrangement occasions to the beginner are at least diminished by inserting in their alphabetical place words whose etymological affinities he would be likely to mistake, with a reference to the root under which they are treated. The Aramaic of parts of Ezra and Daniel is properly reserved for an appendix. Following the good example of the later editions of the German Gesenius, under every word the forms which occur in the Old Testament are registered with illustrative references.

What the editors in their prefatory note recognize as their chief task, the re-examination of the whole usage as a means of determining the significance of each Hebrew word and the genetic relation of its various senses, has manifestly been done with great pains. By employing a condensed mode of citation it has been made possible to give a much greater number of references than are to be found in previous lexicons. Of all the rarer words, and of many which can hardly be included in this class, all the occurrences are cited; and, as such articles are distinguished by an obelus, the Lexicon may so far take the place of a concordance. The discrimination of the various senses and uses of words is worked out with great minuteness. It may be a fair question whether the subdivision is not in some cases carried to a point where it obstructs a rapid and comprehensive survey of the usage; especially where the subdivisions correspond to peculiarities of our own idiom, which compel us to render by different English words, rather than to any real difference of meaning or use in Hebrew; but this fault, if it be one, the Lexicon shares with many other good dictionaries. The orderly and lucid arrangement of a dictionary article, so that the logic of speech shall be clearly manifest in it when it is read continuously, while, on the other hand, any division of it may be conveniently and quickly consulted, is the task which makes the greatest demands on the higher powers of the lexicographer. Upon his ability to digest and organize his materials it depends whether his work shall be a chaotic mass, the more confusing the more there is of it, or an orderly creation. In general the Lexicon seems to me to have achieved a reasonable success in this respect, though I must confess that there are a number of articles in which the principle of disposition is not clear to me. Why, for example, to

take the first instance which falls under my eye, should the senses of 'abad be given in the order: 1, *perish, die*; 2, *fig. perish, vanish*; 3, *be lost, strayed* (similarly Gesenius, *Thesaurus*)? Is not the primary meaning seen in 3 (cf. also Arab. 'abada, which is not mentioned), from which the natural development is, *stray, be lost* (animals, men); *perish* (extended also to things, and in figurative uses)? Or why, in the article 'elohim, should the (extremely doubtful) meaning *rulers, judges* be given the first place? Surely this is neither the primary nor the prevailing sense of the word; if, in consideration of the history of exegesis, it is to be noticed at all, it belongs at the other end of the article.

The definitions are for the most part clear and exact, and are abundantly illustrated by examples. A valuable feature of the Lexicon, for which all who use it will be grateful, is the introduction, with a completeness which has not hitherto been attempted, of the synonyms and contrasted words which occur in the parallelism of Hebrew poetry and higher prose. In the case of words whose etymology or meaning is disputed, references are given to the authors and works where fuller discussion may be found, so that the Lexicon serves as an index to the recent literature. It may be presumed that few if any besides Hebrew scholars by profession will make much use of this apparatus; but by means of an elaborate scheme of abbreviations it is kept within narrow limits of space, and the uninitiated need not be unduly alarmed at the algebraic appearance of the formulas.

It has been the not undeserved reproach of Hebrew Lexicons that they have ignored the criticism of the text, and spent much time and ingenuity in giving account of words which owe their existence solely to copyist's blunders. This criticism cannot be made upon the work before us. Where the reading is dubious, the editors have indicated their doubt; where a probable emendation has been proposed they have frequently noted it; but they have wisely avoided the opposite extreme, which would make the Lexicon a catch-all for conjectures. The critical analysis of the Hexateuch is recognized in the citations from it, and the usage of JE, D, and P, where a difference exists, is discriminated. That these symbols are obnoxious to some who will use the Lexicon, I can well believe; but in a work which essays to represent the actual state of Old Testament learning, the authors would not have been justified in ignoring the analysis, even if they did not themselves accept it. It can only be demanded that a wise reserve be exercised, and that the examples adduced be from those parts of the sources named about which there is general agreement among those who accept the analysis. Reflection on the appalling durability of electrotype plates, if nothing else, should be a sufficient warning against perpetuating eccentricities of individual conjecture or passing phases of opinion.

A great deal of labor has evidently been spent upon the etymologies. The material has accumulated rapidly in the last few years through the discovery and publication of inscriptions; the recovery of the Assyrian; the great advances in the lexicography of the other Semitic languages (Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic and Middle Hebrew), to which must be reckoned the publication of native lexica and other philological works. To bring this material together and apply it with a rigidly scientific method to Hebrew etymology is a task which no one has as yet undertaken in a systematic way;

and which, indeed, would to-day be premature. Whenever it is taken in hand, it must be by an association of trained philologists who are thoroughly at home in the various languages and literatures included in the comparison. The etymologies in the new Lexicon are not to be judged by such a standard, but by what is to-day practicable for the lexicographer. From this point of view it is to be said at the outset that in sobriety and general reasonableness the Lexicon compares very advantageously with the recent German editions of Gesenius; but there is room for considerable improvement in the accuracy with which the forms and meanings of the words adduced for comparison from other Semitic languages are cited. I have observed this particularly in the Arabic, where the wealth of the vocabulary and the very various literal and tropical senses of many words make the utmost caution necessary. In the case of words which are not found in Lane's great but incomplete Lexicon, recourse to the native lexica, and especially to Lane's chief source, the *Taj el-'Arūs*, is indispensable. Freytag's awkward and often obscure Latin is always a dangerous reliance. It is but just to say that a considerable part of these inaccuracies go back to Gesenius himself, and have enjoyed the favor of Mühlau and Volek.

Professor Driver, than whom no one is better fitted for such a task, has given a fresh and thorough treatment of the pronouns, prepositions, and other particles, which takes us a long step forward in this division of lexicography. The articles on subjects connected with the religion of Israel have also received special attention. Some of these are treated with greater fullness and in a more descriptive manner than we are accustomed to in a dictionary; cf., e.g., the articles *ʾurim* and *ʾasham*. In the latter article it is remarkable that the two passages which illustrate the old popular usage, as distinct from the technical sense which it has in the laws (1 Sam. vi. 3; 2 Kings xii. 17), are only cited incidentally in the course of a remark that in the technical sense the word is unknown to J E D, etc. To speak of but one other class, the geographical articles are hardly up to the general standard of the Lexicon. This is difficult to account for, because these articles (by Mühlau) were almost the only part of the recent German editions of Gesenius which were of conspicuous merit. Better results would, I think, have been secured by a simple translation of Mühlau's work, with such additions as might be made necessary by more recent research. The references to the literature in this division of the Lexicon are singularly scanty, in comparison with other parts where they were at least not more necessary, and are sometimes misleading, as when Tristram's *Topography* is quoted for an identification suggested by Robinson. Finally, if I may express a personal opinion, too much attention is paid to the eccentricities and perversities of the English *Survey* in the matter of "identifications."

GEORGE F. MOORE.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE EPIC OF THE INNER LIFE. Being the Book of Job, translated anew, and accompanied with notes and an introductory study. By JOHN F. GENUNG. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. 16mo, pp. xi., 352, \$1.25.

This is pre-eminently an age of literary criticism as applied to the Bible. It is an age when the

Bible is studied more rationally than ever before. There may have been times when the Scriptures have been read with a more devout spirit, and there certainly have been times when a bold rationalism in interpretation has gone to greater lengths; but never have the books of the Sacred Volume been interpreted more reasonably and sensibly than at the present time. Of all the books of the Bible, those constituting the so-called Chokmah literature, the literature of Wisdom, have gained the most by the application of what may be called the rational or sensible method of interpretation. The Proverbs of Solomon and other sages; Ecclesiastes, with its picture of a life conflict, portraying the deepest struggles of a noble soul in its alternations of light and darkness, belief and scepticism, issuing in the one noble conclusion, "Fear God"; Job with its majestic view of a mighty spirit wrestling amid darkness and uncertainty with that most terrible of problems, the mysterious providence of God, and proving the reality of that wisdom which is the fear of Jahveh; the Song of Songs with its dramatic picture of a noble maiden's soul engaged in a momentous struggle with a subtle and terrible foe, but crowned at last with a glorious victory—all these are now better understood as to their poetic structure, their religious and philosophic meaning, and their ethical purpose than ever before; and we wonder that men ever perceived in them those strange allegorical fancies, and those prophetic and Messianic references which once formed the sole justification for their place in the canon.

The book which forms the subject of this notice is a most excellent illustration of the sensible and rational method of interpreting Scripture. Seldom have we chanced upon so refreshing and spirited a presentation of the meaning of the unknown poet, who has with so masterly a hand, albeit under divine inspiration, depicted the mighty soul of the man of Uz in the throes of its struggle with the deepest problem of human existence, whose solution is found in the *life*, not the words, of the hero of that poem. In this book there is no needless display of Oriental learning, no unintelligible theological nonsense, no defiant rationalism, no silly, would-be pious straining of passages to a Messianic reference. If ever an interpreter seemed to be fair and unprejudiced, the author of this book seems to be.

His work to be rightly estimated must be judged according to the task he has set before him at the outset. It is a revision and completion of an article in the *Andover Review* for November, 1888, with a new translation of the Hebrew text of the poem. It is an endeavor to present the book as a homogeneous whole. Having sought for what seemed to him the natural purpose of the book, judging it as possessing such a unity, he has translated the whole with reference to that purpose. It is not an attempt to reconstruct any supposed original form of the poem; the author takes it all as he finds it, seeking a purpose which justifies the presence of the discourses of Elihu. It is not an attempt to prove the historical character of the narrative, nor to attribute it to any known biblical writer. It is not a homiletical commentary, that most useless of useless things to a man with brains, nor does it pretend to be a critical commentary, although the critical student will read much between the lines of the author's notes. It is emphatically a book worth reading, stimulating and helpful, clearly a book by a student for students. The superficial reader will not appreciate

it. The most critical will not lay it aside without reading it, though he may differ with the author as to the exact purpose of the poem, or in regard to matters of detail in the translation or elucidation of its text.

The author styles Job an "epic." This he explains in his preface to be taken in a modified sense; but the use of this designation best conveys the author's idea of the purpose of the poem, which, though semi-dramatic in form and action, "centres in a hero whose spiritual achievements it makes known to us." The life of Job, as told in this poem, in the prose prologue and epilogue, and indirectly in the solemn rounds of dialogue, is, in its exhibition of the spiritual forces at work in it and in its conquests in integrity and faith, an answer to the question of the supernatural adversary, "Doth Job fear God for naught?" or, "Is there a fear of God apart from considerations of self-interest?" The history, which to the mind of the author answers this question, is expressed by him in the following sentence, which is the keynote of his interpretation of the whole book: "There is a service of God which is not work for reward; it is a heart-loyalty, a hunger after God's presence, which survives loss and chastisement, which in spite of contradictory seeming cleaves to what is godlike as the needle seeks the pole, and which reaches up out of the darkness and hardness of this life to the light and love beyond." But Job himself is utterly unaware of this answer as well as of the problem. In the dramatic arrangement of the poem both belong to the realm of the world above. Still the hero of the epic remains true to Jahveh, as he believes in Him and combats only that idea of God which a sordid humanity makes for itself. The life of Job is thus regarded, not as an answer to the mysterious question, "Why does suffering befall the righteous?" Nor is the theme of the book the mystery of God's providential government of men. But the life of Job is considered as a triumphant vindication of a genuine "fear of God," which remains unshaken even in the face of absolute proof, so far as human reason can see, of a contradiction in divine dealings with men. With this view there becomes at once manifest the skill of the author in revealing, as he does in his translation, the human littleness of the arguments of all three of the friends, as also of Elihu, and even of Job himself, in comparison with which shines in unspeakable grandeur the awful majesty of Job's fearless confidence and faith in Jahveh, and his thrilling defiance of the unknown—not of God, as men might reason, and as it seemed to Job himself when he paused to reason, but of the mysterious and baffling circumstances which were incapable of sweeping away his faith and his fear of God, though they sorely puzzled and paralyzed his reason.

In regard to the date and authorship of the Book of Job Professor Genung makes no strong special plea; but he thinks it was written in the time of Hezekiah by some unknown author. This he supports by the advanced social state recognized in the book, the Wisdom instruction of the book, the basis of which were the Proverbs of Solomon, a comparison of the language of Job with the prophets, and the fact that the book was evidently written in a time of great material prosperity.

Professor Genung's translation is natural and vivid, somewhat free as suited his purpose, but nowhere doing violence to the sense of the original.

WILLIAM C. DALAND.

WESTERLY, R. I.

CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY. (American Religious Leaders Series.) By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Oberlin Theological Seminary, Ohio. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. 16mo, pp. vi., 329, \$1.25.

Professor Wright possesses some very special qualifications for the task he has here attempted. In the first place he was a student in Oberlin for eight years during the height of President Finney's influence in the college and community there; and for a part of this time he was a pupil in President Finney's classes. In the second place, he holds substantially to the system of theology and moral philosophy taught by President Finney. In the third place, Professor Wright has had sufficient acquaintance with men and systems of theology in places outside of Oberlin to give him the proper perspective for the study he has undertaken.

Writing thus as a pupil and personal friend, in full sympathy with the characteristic features of President Finney's life and teachings, Professor Wright is able in an unusual degree to deal sympathetically with his subject, to clear away misconceptions, to satisfy the expectations of those who knew President Finney best and admired him most. The writer of this review entering on the study of theology at Oberlin in the same class with Professor Wright, and a little later associated with President Finney in the faculty of Oberlin College, finds his own impressions and judgments expressed in these pages, with scarcely an occasion for modification or change. At the same time, Professor Wright's familiarity with the history and theological discussions of the times of which he treats is such as to enable him to deal critically with his materials and to mark the limitations as well as the strong points in President Finney's system and influence, and thus to reach a far wider circle of readers.

President Finney, happily, left in manuscript his autobiography, written with inimitable simplicity and frankness, which since his death has been published in several editions, and has made the public well acquainted with the salient features of his life and labors. This work, from its very nature, deals with a limited field, and so far from precluding a sketch like the one before us, even requires it for the full and proportionate view of the man and his work in relation to his times. Professor Wright, while freely using the autobiography, has wisely chosen to follow a plan of his own in narrating the outlines of President Finney's life.

The story of President Finney's conversion and evangelistic labors possesses an intrinsic interest which can never fail. Even in the condensed form necessitated by the limits of this volume, it is fascinating and impressive. And yet, probably, the part of this work which will be read with liveliest interest is the chapter devoted to President Finney's theological system. Of course one does not find everything here; and disappointment is, perhaps, inevitable in such an epitome. Had it been possible, it would have been a welcome and a useful service if the place of the system in the history of doctrine during the last century had been more fully stated and traced out somewhat in detail. Materials would thus have been furnished for a judgment as to the value of the system and the permanency of its influence, such as is hardly justified by the contents of this volume.

Professor Wright has done full justice to President Finney's remarkable career as a revivalist,

has clearly grasped and accurately defined the characteristic features of his theology, has corrected some misapprehensions, and has done a real service thereby, for which he deserves generous credit. The style of the volume is clear, dignified, and worthy of the subject. A single infelicity is noted; the subject of this sketch is spoken of as *Finney* from first to last.

President Finney was a great revivalist, a great preacher, an inspiring teacher, a great man. None admired him more than those who knew him best. The quality of genius belonged to all he said and did; he stood apart from men, even among those who were most intimate with him; as Wordsworth says of Milton:

"Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart."

It was a tonic to mind and heart to know him, and study with him, and hear him preach; and the thousands of Oberlin students who for two score years came under the spell of his thought and life owe to him no small part of the best in mind and character which they won from their academic course. He was one of those rare men of whom it may justly be said that it was a liberal education to know him well. He had his limitations; it is easy to name them. But in spite of them all he was a man of rare intellectual and spiritual power, who moulded the religious thought and life of his times with the hand of a master. It is well that his true image, as this volume happily presents it, be kept fresh and vivid to the men of later generations.

BOSTON, MASS.

JUDSON SMITH.

TWELVE SERMONS BY THE LATE EUGÈNE BERSIER, D.D., of l'Eglise de l'Étoile, Paris. Translated by Mrs. ALEXANDER WAUGH. With Portrait. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891. Pp. 288, 12mo, cloth, \$1.25.

No pastor of the French Protestant churches, since the celebrated Adolphe Monod, has surpassed, none, perhaps, even approached Eugène Bersier as a pulpit orator. His sudden death, on November 19th, 1889, was felt to be a great and almost an irretrievable loss to the cause of religion; for, to use the words of the venerable Dr. Jules Bonnet, writing immediately after the sad event, "the great ministry of Pastor Eugène Bersier remains one of the glories of the Church of Paris and of French Protestantism entire." We confess that we took up the present volume with much curiosity. Many years ago we first became acquainted with M. Bersier, then a young man of about sixteen years of age, who had come from his native town of Morges in Switzerland to enter into mercantile business in the city of New York. Shortly after he returned to Europe and began his theological studies. In a comparatively brief time we heard of him again as a most promising preacher, the brilliancy of whose sermons attracted marked attention and applause even in the French capital, and from audiences accustomed to the striking discourses of Grandpierre and Coquerel. When, after a period of preliminary practice in the obscure faubourg Saint Antoine, he made his appearance in the pulpit of the more critical Taithout Chapel, the headquarters of the Free Church at Paris, he was already an adept in one of the most important but most difficult of arts—the art of sacred rhetoric. The wide range of his reading, the acuteness of his reasoning, and the beauty and fulness of his oratorical forms, it was observed,

made of the young preacher a master whose claims to pre-eminence were indisputable. It was no slight tribute to his powers that an excellent judge of another religious creed, M. de Sacy, in referring to his sermons in an article published in the *Journal des Débats*, did not hesitate to style him "the equal, as a moralist, of the greatest men that have illustrated the old Catholic pulpit." Crowds flocked to hear him wherever it was announced that he was to speak. The "Eglise de l'Étoile," which may be said to have had its origin in his effective preaching, became one of the largest and certainly the most attractive churches of the capital. Eugène Bersier did not lose any of his popularity or of his influence when he came to see in the national Protestant Church the old church of the Huguenots, the true hope for the future of France, and transferred his relations to it from the Free Church, of which he had hitherto been one of the great lights. He carried with him the undiminished love and confidence of all his friends. Nor did he confine himself to strictly pastoral labors. In the advocacy of every great religious or moral movement he was conspicuous for his zeal and for his success. Among his writings that will enjoy the longest currency is a historical work on Admiral Coligny, which had its origin in his efforts to promote the scheme, now a realized fact, for the erection of a statue to that great Protestant patriot opposite the Louvre and near the spot where he was assassinated in 1572.

The portrait, a speaking likeness, prefixed to the volume before us, gives an excellent idea of Bersier's commanding appearance. The sermons convey perhaps as satisfactory an explanation as mere written sermons can convey of the marvellous success of the man who once delivered them. They may also serve as among the best of examples of the modern school of French Protestant pulpit discourses. We commend them to the attention of readers interested in this matter. They will doubtless find that no small element in their power is the purity and directness with which the simple Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is presented and enforced upon the attention and acceptance of men. If the style loses much by translation, yet no one can fail to recognize its native vigor and terseness. Words serve merely as a means to an end. The speaker is not only in earnest, he is profoundly moved. Fervor is the grand characteristic; fervor without rant, without exaggeration of any kind. There are before the mind definite hearers with definite errors of doctrine and practice, and the orator has an unmistakable purpose in every sentence, in every word. We single out the fourth of these sermons as a favorable specimen of Bersier's skill in the statement of the prevailing errors in French thought and of his wisdom and power in refutation. Those who would like to know what the best of French preachers has to offer as a substitute for the essay which passes current in many quarters as a Christian sermon cannot do better, in our judgment, than to read this volume carefully and thoughtfully.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

JOHN KENNETH MACKENZIE, MEDICAL MISSIONARY TO CHINA. By Mrs. [MARY F.] BRYSON. London Mission, Tientsin. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. [2d ed., 1891]. 12mo, pp. xlii., 404, \$1.50.

A. M. MACKAY, PIONEER MISSIONARY OF THE

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO UGANDA. By his Sister. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 3d ed., 1891. 12mo, pp. viii., 488, \$1.50.

John Kenneth Mackenzie first saw the light at Yarmouth, England, August 25th, 1850; and died at Tientsin, China, Easter Sunday, April 1, 1888. He may be said to have lived longer than most men, because he crowded so much work into his comparatively few days. After an experience of mission work at home he resolved to go to China as a medical missionary; graduated in medicine in 1874 and went to Hankow, where he led a very busy and useful life, not only as a physician and surgeon, but as a lay-preacher. In 1878 he got into some trouble not stated by his biographer, and went, in 1879, to Tientsin, where he stayed out his days. In the latter place he really did a great work. By a special Providence the Viceroy, Li-Hung Chang, became interested in his medical work, and actually set apart an entire quadrangle of the temple to Tsengkwoh-fan, one of the finest buildings in the city, for dispensary work, and, if necessary, for the reception of in-patients. Under such distinguished patronage the work prospered. A Chinese medical school was established, and by public subscription a hospital was erected. Mackenzie had the laboring oar in all these measures. He was hospital superintendent, dispensary chief, hospital visitor, surgeon, professor of the various branches of medicine—all at one and the same time. No wonder that under this accumulation he sank.

Mrs. Bryson brings out very clearly the fact that Mackenzie used his medical work as a mere means to spiritual influence. Enthusiastic as he was as a surgeon, able and devoted as a teacher, he was more enthusiastic and devoted as a lay-preacher. He had a genuine passion for souls, and valued his position and opportunities as a physician only because they gave him readier access to the people.

Mrs. Bryson's biography is well written. We wish, however, that she had given it an index, and also that she had avoided the common fault of amateur biographers—the omission of, or confusion about, the date of death. Thus this rather important fact in a biography is wholly omitted in the case of Mary Moffat in the biography by her son. In the present case one has to enter into an elaborate calculation to find out in what year and in what month and day the "Easter Day," mentioned (p. 367) as that of his death, fell! The Chinese money terms, *e.g.*, catty, teals, should be explained.

Mackay, whose name is pronounced as if spelled Mack-I, is one of the immortals. Whenever the story of Central Africa is told he must be mentioned; and in the annals of missionary biography there is no greater hero. Mackay was emphatically a man in the right place: a simple, upright, God-fearing man, who lived calmly amid innumerable daily perils, and impressed his holy character upon the heathen around. He was not an ordained missionary, nor a physician, but an engineer, yet he was called upon to preach and to minister to the sick. In fact, there was little that he was not called upon to do. He built boats and houses, mended instruments and fire-arms, taught school, translated the Bible and printed it, made converts, faced such dangerous enemies as the Arabs and the Jesuits, held the king in check, and in general made himself useful.

As one reviews his life one can see how he was prepared for it. Born at Rhynie in the county

of Aberdeen, Scotland, on October 13th, 1849, early fondler of tools and machinery than of books, so that he spent his leisure time in workshops and shipyards, he grew up into an able-bodied lad, who was characterized by "a quiet, durable enthusiasm," steady, persevering habits, and retiring manners.

After studying engineering in Edinburgh, he went to Germany in 1873 to learn the language, and supported himself by the exercise of his profession; but his heart was soon enlisted in the cause of foreign missions, and in 1876 he left for Uganda. His life henceforth was crowded with perils, sufferings, anxieties, and varied labors. Most of the time he was alone among savages, or, if not absolutely without white companions, they were the French Roman Catholic priests who thwarted his plans and hindered his work. Stanley crossed his path, and the two have expressed their mutual admiration. Dr. Junker and Emin Pasha also visited him, but these visits were mere oases in the desert of his isolated existence. No one can read his story, told in his letters so simply, so modestly, yet so grandly, without spiritual quickening. Here was a man who without complaint endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He had nothing personal to gain by it. He was not doing anything for pay, but verily he received a great reward. During the terrible months after the massacre of Bishop Hannington news from Uganda formed a paragraph occasionally in the papers. It was always the same—persecution was rife, anarchy reigned, but Mackay was still there, quietly holding on; all the other white men had fled. Noble Mackay! The heart of Christendom went out toward that servant of the Master, who in these degenerate days continued the line of heroes. On February 8th, 1890, *at* 41, Mackay succumbed to malarial fever, at Usambiro, never having seen his native land since he had left it seventeen years before. His native land? Such men have their citizenship in heaven!

We are grateful to Mackay's sister for her labor of love in compiling, from his letters and journals, his biography. We would suggest to her the propriety of giving in future editions the middle name of her brother—it does not appear in the American reprint at least, merely its initial *M.*; also to cause the publishers to insert a map which shall have upon it all the names which occur in the biography. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

NEW YORK.

THE INHERITANCE OF THE SAINTS: or, Thoughts on the Communion of Saints and the Life of the World to Come. Collected chiefly from English Writers. By L. P. With a Preface by H. S. Holland, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii., 374, \$2.

This book is divided into four parts: I. Life in Time; II. Life through Death; III. Life beyond the Veil; IV. The Life Everlasting. Under each of these general heads the collector has gathered some of the best and most comforting thoughts on life and death from the most pious and illustrious writers of England, and has interspersed them with valuable selections from writers other than English. Everything in the book is bright, hopeful, and cheering. There is no controversy, no abstract argument, no dogmatic declamation. All is real, concrete, reliable. Each writer seems to speak from the fulness of his own Christian experience and from the tenderness of his love for all

who are Christ's. The book is itself an illustration of the communion of saints. In it E. B. Pusey, J. H. Newman, H. E. Manning, Charles Kingsley, George Macdonald, Phillips Brooks, Richard Baxter, J. C. Shairp, and others equally diverse in regard to the things which separate Christians in this world, utter sentiments about the communion of saints and the life everlasting which each would probably adopt as his own. The book is well calculated to direct the mind's contemplation to things that lie beyond the visible and the tangible. In reading it the Christian feels that he belongs to an innumerable company of saints, of whom some have passed over the river, of whom some are on this side; all of whom have a common inheritance and enjoy a mutual ministry.

Mr. Holland's preface is taken up with a well-directed effort to commend the book to the interest and meditation of its readers. We agree with him in regarding it as admirably fitted to call the mind of Christians from that "other worldliness" which is now not unjustly charged against the comfortable and easy ways of so many Christians. "It stores and arranges the material by help of which our mind and imagination and will can follow the lines which pass up from this life into the eternal kingdom toward which we move. It shows us how much can be done in the way of fixing our meditation on a world which it is so difficult to embrace within our practical horizon." It makes the inheritance of the saints appear as a substantial and enduring reality. It is a good book, and will do good wherever it is read.

J. W. RICHARD.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

THE BLESSED LIFE: How to Find and Live It. By N. J. HOFMEYER, Senior Professor of the Theological College of the Dutch Reformed Church, Stellenbosch, Cape Colony. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. 251, \$1.

The chapters of this book were originally addresses—much after the fashion of the famous "Conferences" of Princeton Seminary—delivered weekly to Christian students in a South African theological college by one of its professors. This origin has left its mark upon the work. It has secured a certain intellectual tone much above that which is usually met in evangelistic discourses addressed to popular assemblies untrained in religious instruction. It exhibits a mental alertness, a modernness and originality of putting the fundamental things of salvation which is very refreshing. Withal, while novel in expression, it is entirely orthodox. Almost the only chapter over which any substantial difference of opinion would be expressed by evangelical theologians is that on "Assurance," where essentially the well-known views of the late Cesar Malan are expressed—views which are freely accepted by a large school of the Reformed as entirely scriptural, although some would probably consider them as asserted rather too confidently. "*Non cuius contigit adire Corintho*," and some despondent but real disciple might be still further depressed by the standard of "assurance" here held up as without exception.

But that is a very secondary matter. The book is divided into three parts: "On Returning to the Father," "On Surrendering to Christ," and "On Walking by the Spirit." Under each of these heads there are ten or a dozen brief chapters, each with a descriptive title. No one can familiarize

himself with them, however long time a disciple, without a spiritual quickening. It is not a book for the work in the slums, nor among the grossly ignorant; but it is admirable to put in the hands of thoughtful men and women. What James's "Anxious Inquirer," Law's "Serious Call," and other now obsolete or obsolescent books of their type were to the awakened and interested of a half century or more ago, this "Blessed Life," with the tone and thrill of the nineteenth century in it, with its modern phrasing and fresh thought, should be to those of to-day. It is a remarkable book.

MANCIUS H. HUTTON.

NEW BRUNSWICK N. J.

BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

The Apostle Paul: A Sketch of the Development of his Doctrine, by A. Sabatier, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris. Translated from the French. Edited, with an additional essay on the Pastoral Epistles, by George C. Findlay, B.A., author of "Galatians" in "The Expositor's Bible." (New York: James Pott & Co., 1891, 8vo, pp. xix., 402, \$2.) The second edition of the French original, from which this translation apparently was made, bears date of 1881. It is, therefore, by no means an unknown book, but ranks high among works upon the Theology of the Epistles. Professor Sabatier has been fortunate in his English translator. It seldom occurs that a translation presents so exact a reproduction of the original, and yet reads so fully as though it were a primary production. Not only is the author's thought faithfully reproduced, but it is done in a style which ranks high as a specimen of graceful English. For the benefit of those who have not read the original, a few words may be said concerning the views and purposes of the author. He regards the doctrine of Paul as an outgrowth of his experience, and believes that it had a course of development parallel to the life of the apostle. Hence the varying forms it assumed, and here the ground of reconciliation of the divergences of the epistles on which such stress has been laid by the critics. The author therefore combines the exposition of the Pauline doctrine with the history of Paul's life. He also asserts that he is not "in the least obliged to strain the historical exegesis for the purpose of obtaining an artificial unity and resemblance. By accepting the idea of progress, it makes room for the variations of thought and expression which exist." With the translator we would say: "It is unnecessary to bespeak for this gifted representative of French Protestant scholarship a friendly reception upon English [and American] soil."

Over Sixty Six Sacred Books: How they Came to Us, and what they Are, by Edwin W. Rice, D.D. (Philadelphia and New York: American Sunday-School Union, 1891, 12mo, pp. 133, 40 cents.) Dr. Rice's lectures, delivered by request before an advanced Bible-class upon the topics here discussed, were first printed in a monthly periodical and now in an enlarged form as a book. The subtitle indicates the ground covered: "A popular handbook for colleges, Sunday-schools, normal classes, and students, on the origin, authorship, preservation, character, and divine authority of the Christian Scriptures." Beginning with the Anglo-American Revision, Dr. Rice goes on to give in brief form the essential facts in regard to the other versions in various languages, the an-

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cient manuscripts, and finally a brief "introduction" to both Testaments and to the separate books. The presentation is brief, but quite fair, though it is not difficult to perceive what position the author occupies upon critical questions.

Randolph has recently published a little duodecimo of 106 pages (60 cents), entitled *The Interpreter with his Bible*, by A. E. Waffle, A.M., which "is intended to meet the wants of persons who are anxious to study the Bible for themselves, but who have not had the advantages of a classical education." In this effort the author has made a book which is eminently orthodox and which is well calculated to accomplish its avowed purpose. Most of the material is familiar to the theological student and the minister, though a perusal would be of value to many such. The topics discussed are "The Interpreter Himself," "General Principles of Interpretation," and "The Interpretation of Figurative Language." The book is eminently intelligible and excellent in spite of some statements to which exception might be taken as insufficient (p. 79) or doubtful (p. 27). The recognition of various grades of "higher critics" (p. 6) is worthy of imitation elsewhere.

Two previous volumes of *The Sermon Bible* have received notice already. A new volume, covering the Gospel according to Luke and the first three chapters of John, has appeared. (New York: Armstrong, 1891, 8vo, pp. iv., 414, \$1.50.) Abstracts of sermons by prominent preachers with references to other sermons are given in connection with the texts in their regular order. The reputation of the men whose work is here abstracted is excellent. It is to be regretted that the same cannot be said conscientiously of the book itself as a whole.

The Route of the Exodus. This is the title of a little pamphlet of 19 pages octavo, by Edouard Naville, D. Lit., Ph.D., containing an address before the Victoria Institute (London), 1891. The author is the well known Egyptologist and explorer, whose name will ever be connected with his famous discovery of the site of Pithom, one of the "store-cities" of the second Ramses. A considerable part of the material of this publication was contained in the volume which recorded that discovery. The significance of that event lies in the identity of Pithom with Succoth, the second station on the Exodus route. Its definite location made the old theory of the place of crossing the Red Sea difficult to maintain. This little paper contains in brief form the main facts and features of the newer view. It is from the hand of a master, and should be consulted. An excellent outline map accompanies the address. The Victoria Institute is located at 8 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W. C.

The Doctrine of the Episcopal Church so Far as it is Set Forth in the Prayer-Book, digested and arranged by Henry R. Percival, M.A., S.T.D., Rector of the Church of the Evangelists, Philadelphia. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892, 12mo, pp. vi., 103, 75 cents.) In the main this little volume contains a compilation from the Prayer-Book, the extracts being ranged under the ordinary headings of a theological system. As such it is very convenient and extremely useful, showing how much of doctrine is thus taught; but the compiler's chief aim has been to enter a protest against those who wish to minimize the vows taken in ordination, boasting of an exceedingly "roomy" church. There is a great deal to be said in favor of the view which is here presented with

much earnestness and deep conviction. The subscription to the doctrinal statements for which the writer contends is elastic enough to suit any reasonable demands, and yet strict enough to exclude those who evidently have no right within the bounds of the Episcopal communion. The first portion of the book "claims to possess a quasi-authoritative character," as it evidently must to those who accept the book on which it is founded; but in the second part, where the author has added his own explications of certain points of doctrine, we think that he has done less well. Instances might be cited where traditionalism and liberal thought, Arminianism and Calvinism are strangely mingled. Undoubtedly the book would have been stronger and had a greater influence if the Prayer-Book had been allowed to speak for itself without added comment.

The First Doctrine of the Christian Church. Letters and addresses from a few eminent advocates of the Scriptural Theology of Conditional Immortality, read before a late Convention of the Young Ministers' Christian Union of the United States of America, with publisher's preface. (Providence: Snow & Farnham, 1891, 12mo, pp. xix., 79.) This long title belongs to a small book. Claims are put forth to the adherence of many eminent men to the dogma indicated. In the preface we are told that "many more" are now "secretly committed" to this view (p. vii.), "which alone displays both the mercy and justice of God" (p. xv.). According to it "Christian dogmatics need to be readjusted" (p. 13). Those who hold to the received view are virtually accused of reading the Bible with one eye shut or of gluing some pages together (p. 20). The scholarly character of the book is made dubious by the fact that on p. 21 the only Greek word in it contains two blunders which render it unrecognizable! The list of authorities appended is one of the queerest pieces of bibliography which we ever saw. The veriest tyro ought to be ashamed of it. In the argument itself there is nothing new, and the exegesis is startlingly though eclectically literal.

Darkness and Dawn; or, Scenes in the Days of Nero: An Historic Tale, by Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891, 8vo, pp. xiii., 504, \$2.) The most obvious criticism of this book is that it is too long. The volume contains a vast amount of matter, and even the interest that one naturally feels in both subject and writer is put to a considerable strain. It is too much to expect that the book shall contain a well-arranged plot, like other tales of romance, and yet there is a thread which runs through the whole giving it what of unity it possesses. Those who read it for the story alone will be apt to be disappointed, though in this respect the book is a notable addition to its class; while those who seek for incidental information of a historical and archaeological nature will find much of such material. Furthermore, they can rely upon the correctness of the statements of fact, while the element of fiction is of such a sort as to be quite within the bounds of possibility. To most readers there will be opened a view of the history of the time both wider and more vivid than anything which may have chanced to fall under their notice. A *Zeitgeschichte* in this form will probably reach and instruct more readers than a book professedly scientific and laboriously learned could do.

A History of Christianity. From the German of Professor Rudolph Sohm, Leipsic. By Charles

W. Rishell, M.A., with revisions, notes, and additions. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe; New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1891, 12mo, pp. 370, \$1.) Though of very moderate size, this translation, with the additions which the editor has appended as notes or inserted in the shape of new chapters, has not the forbidding appearance which so many brief histories have. It is not merely a presentation of dates with as little text as the writer could consistently give, but it is a narrative or account with such dates as are needed to make plain the historical sequence of events. It is commendable because it is a readable book instead of a mere chronological statement. The only criticism upon it is that it is necessarily put in such a concise form that one would be compelled to have a good encyclopedia at hand at times to fill up some of the gaps which even the editor's notes have left. There are three sections appended which give some account of the Church in Great Britain and America, and also of Methodism in particular. To give a rapid view of the whole field, the volume will be found valuable, especially to laymen, from the very form in which it is cast.

Forty Years among the Zulus, by Josiah Tyler, missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1891, 8vo, pp. 300, \$1.25.) When reading the introduction to this volume, by Dr. Lamson, we were led to expect great pleasure and profit from the book itself. After reading it there is no hesitation in pronouncing fully justified that noble tribute to a noble man engaged in a noble work. The author has learned the secret of interesting writing, and there is not a dull page in the whole composition. It is the work of a man on fire with enthusiasm, and as an argument in favor of foreign missions it is worth countless volumes of generalities and phrases. The style of the writer is plain, vivid, and easy to read. One seems transported to the field of his labors, and feels the contagion of a deep interest and the conviction that the results justify the labor and the money expended in the prosecution of the work. The book should be widely read.

Morning Light in Many Lands, by Daniel March. (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1891, 8vo, pp. 416, \$2.) This book gives the author's account of what he saw during a considerable part of a journey of forty thousand miles and during a year and a half, and yet it is not a book of travels which frightens us with the ill-concealed skeleton of an earth-encircling itinerary. Unlike the "globe-trotter," who says that he never saw a missionary or a convert from heathenism (simply because he never looked for them), Dr. March saw many of both, and took pains to learn all that he could about them in as exhaustive a manner as possible. He has made a study of missions, and has brought back a remarkable report. It is the more interesting since he did not go as an agent or a promoter, but simply as an individual and private investigator. In this volume he gives us his conclusions, reached after questioning of hundreds of missionaries and natives, after careful study and painstaking inquiry. The results at which he has arrived will gladden the hearts of those who are so deeply interested in the success of this great cause. His report of open doors and ready, eager hearers of the Gospel message may seem rose-colored to many, but those who look for the ultimate triumph of the Cross will find their hands stayed up by his encouraging words.

The book itself is handsome, the type clear, and the paper excellent. The author's style is most pleasing and easy withal, so that the reader is carried along without labor or fatigue. At times a spiritual lesson is drawn from outward scenes, but usually such digressions are edifying and instructive. The observer was a man of hard-headed common sense, and he has given us some descriptions of things which he characterizes with expressive and pungent adjectives. The good which the book is calculated to do warrants the hope that it will find many readers.

Native Life in India, being sketches of the Social and Religious Characteristics of the Hindus, by the Rev. Henry Rice, Madras. Revised. (Oakland, Cal.: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 160, 60 cents.) We have here an American edition of a work published first by the Religious Tract Society of London, under the title "Native Life in South India." It is substantially the same work, though some things have been omitted because they were thought to be of little interest to the younger readers for whom this edition is intended. The type and paper are good, the style is clear and plain, and the matter is of interest so far as it goes. As the work is based upon an intimate acquaintance of eighteen years with the people and scenes described, we have an authentic account and one calculated to meet admirably the purpose which the writer had in mind.

Robert Carter: His Life and Work, 1807-89. (New York: Randolph & Co., 1891, 8vo, pp. ix., 250, \$1.50.) "This book is written for the friends of Robert Carter." Thus writes the author, a loving and devoted daughter. The words are true, and the friends are not so few that the book will have a small sale if each friend should become a purchaser. He was a man very widely known, beloved and honored not only within the bounds of his denomination, but also among a multitude of associates in all professions and on both sides of the sea. To all these this volume will be a most welcome memorial, the more so because it gives so vivid a picture of the man and his character, his work and his life. Every page is full of interest, and even those who had not the privilege of his personal acquaintance are made to feel the force and honesty of his character, the conscientiousness which he showed in his work, and the sincerity and earnestness of his life. The author has quoted largely from Mr. Carter's own words and descriptions, as well as from many who knew and honored her father. Her task has been well performed, though it is easy to imagine that a far larger book might have been prepared. Out of the wealth of anecdote it is difficult to select anything for special mention. Perhaps a little incident will illustrate his principles as well as a longer one. His reply to the man who wanted to have him publish a volume on "The Divine Right of Presbyterian Church Government" was rather disconcerting, coming from a staunch Scotch Presbyterian, when he denied the main proposition. Similarly he refused a volume on "The Difficulties of Arminian Methodism," saying, "Pulling down may be necessary; but I did not go into business to do that, but to build up Christ's Church as far as is in my power." The death of such a man is a loss to the world. Even those who were forced to disagree with him in some points could not fail to do honor to the man, of whom it is said that his prayers caused Dr. Musgrave to change his views upon the reunion of the Presbyterian Church, so that he became its earnest advocate.

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The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic, with Notice of what the Pilgrims learned in Holland, their Treatment by the Government and People, and Answers to Criticisms made upon the proposed Delfshaven Memorial. A paper read before the Boston Congregational Club, October 26th, 1891, by William Elliot Griffiths, D.D., Chairman of the Delfshaven Memorial Committee. (Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., pp. 40, 15 cents.) The title of this little pamphlet is so full that it is unnecessary to further describe its contents. The plan of erecting a memorial at Delfshaven is one that has aroused a great deal of enthusiasm and some determined opposition and criticism. We have already mentioned one of the pamphlets against it. Dr. Griffiths is firmly convinced of the untenable character of the adverse criticism, and after careful study on both sides of the sea has prepared the present paper. It only faintly echoes the praise which is due to the writer to say that he ought to go on with the investigations here indicated, and expand their limits to those of a volume. The Dutch influence upon England and the American debt to the Netherlands ought to be brought out in their full significance. In the mean time, those interested will find food for thought in this essay, and the hands of those who are committed to the Delfshaven Memorial will be strengthened as well.

Talks to Sunday-School Teachers, by Joseph Goodwin Terrill. (Syracuse, N. Y.: A. W. Hall, 1891, 12mo, pp. xv., 192, 75 cents.) This little book had its inception in an attempt to meet felt wants in a practical and useful way. It is adapted to use in all sorts of localities and conditions, and to almost all grades of Sabbath-school teachers. The author has endeavored to put into his pages a large amount of instruction and a great many hints while yet furnishing a cheap book. In this effort he has succeeded. With this outline as a text-book for study at the weekly teachers' meeting, there should be a constantly growing excellence in the quality of the instruction. Anything which will assist in this direction is to be welcomed. The glimpses which the author gives into the philosophy of mind and morals will enable the teacher to grasp the true method of instructing, and lead to a higher order of teacher. Our only objection is to the extremely modernized shape which is given to some of the biblical teachings; "the old is better."

As a slight token of interdenominational comity we have a volume of discourses, comprising a "series of sermons delivered in the Old John Street Methodist Episcopal Church" in this city, by prominent ministers of the vicinity. The title *Interdenominational Sermons* is perhaps not as felicitous as might be, but the contents of the book are in every way excellent. As might be expected, the selection contains the ripened thought of men well known in their own denominations or in far wider circles, so that the reader has in brief space specimens of the style of thought and mode of diction of twenty-five ministers and several laymen as well. Having been delivered to audiences of business men, who turned aside from their occupations to attend this series of sermons, the care with which they were selected and the interest and importance of their lessons may be taken for granted. Each sermon is accompanied by a portrait of the preacher. (New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1891, pp. viii., 325, \$1.25.)

QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

The Andover Review, Boston, Jan., 1892.

"The Mediating Function of the Christian Minister of To-day," by Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Boston, starts from the proposition, hardly to be gainsaid by anybody, that the Christian work of to-day must be done by men of to-day, and winds up by suggesting that Christian ministers are called upon to-day, more imperatively than ever before, to mediate between conflicting social classes and render the most effective aid in solving the pressing social problems. The second article of the number, "The Expansion of the Local Church," by A. E. Dunning, D.D., Boston, is of a homogeneous character. It shows that the idea of reorganizing the churches so as to secure for them greater influence and efficiency in proportion to their investments of men and money has become so stirring as to naturally call forth propositions of actual changes; and then it points to the expansion of the local Church as a fit measure to begin with. A well written article, "Missionary Problems in the Turkish Empire," by Rev. Charles C. Starbuck, Andover, gives much intimate and interesting information about the Protestant mission in Asia Minor and its delicate relations to the old and somewhat degenerated Christian churches in those regions. Among other topics discussed in the present number are "The Proposed Reform of the Grammar School Curriculum," by Professor D. Collin Wells, and "Paul's Rabbinic Education," by Rev. Samuel Weyler.

The Baptist Quarterly Review, New York, Jan., 1892.

The exposition of "Aristotle's Conception of God," by James Ten Broeke, Ph.D., Yale University, demonstrates that it contains no idea of God as Providence, and finds in this point the chief difference between what Greek philosophy found out about God and what the Christian religion has revealed. "Some Elements of Pulpit Power," by Rev. B. D. Thomas, D.D., Toronto, Ont., is a vindication of the office the pulpit fills in modern society over against, for instance, the claims of the press. "The New Humanity," by Rev. R. E. Neighbor, Mt. Vernon, Ohio, is a study in the theology of Paul, more especially of Eph. ii. 14-18; and "The Apostles' Creed," by Professor J. C. Long, LL.D., Crozer Theological Seminary, is a study of the origin of that creed.

The Charities Review, New York, Jan., 1892.

The number contains a biographical sketch, by Alexander Johnson, of Oscar Carlton McCulloch, the late president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, telling facts and no conventionalities; a report, by Robert W. de Forest, of the controversy concerning the Christmas Society—both sides of the case, and no unnecessary commentaries; an article by Bolton Hall, "The Effect of Taxations upon Pauperism," showing that grinding taxes out of the poorest class is to grind it down into pauperism. Of particular interest is "A Study of some New York Tenement-House Problems," by E. T. Potter, because this whole topic has of late been made the subject of much sensational writing of an entirely useless unpleasantness.

The Expositor, London, Jan., 1892.

The first part of "The Doctrine of the Atonement in the New Testament," by Rev. Professor Joseph Agar Beet, D.D., treats the doctrine as it

appears in the synoptic gospels, and the third part of "The Present Position of the Johannine Question," by Rev. Professor W. Sanday, D.D., Oxford, treats of the relation between the Gospel according to St. John and the synoptic gospels. "St. Paul's First Journey in Asia Minor," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, M.A., gives a number of valuable notes, by which it becomes possible to fix the exact situations of the localities visited by Paul and Barnabas more precisely than it has hitherto been done. "The Miracles of Christ," by Very Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D.D., Dean of Armagh, who has also adorned the opening page with a beautiful hymn, demonstrates the vanity of any attempt to retain the ethical forces of Christianity after rejecting its supernatural contents. The number also contains a lecture on "Gideon," by the late W. G. Elmslie; a notice of the death of Abraham Kuenen, by Rev. Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Canon of Rochester, and "Old Testament Notes," by the same author.

Good Words, London, Jan., 1892.

The present number contains, besides some poetry and stories, several instructive and well-illustrated sketches or studies, as "Tewksbury Abbey," by H. M. Spence, D.D., Dean of Gloucester; "The Relics of St. Fillan," by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart.; "The Wrinkles on the Face of Mother Earth," by Professor H. A. Green, and for its Sunday Reading, "The Day of Judgment," by Rev. W. Page Roberts, M.A.

The Methodist Review (Bi-monthly), New York and Cincinnati, Jan.-Feb., 1892.

"The Virgin-Birth," by Professor Wilbur Fletcher Steele, Ph.D., Berlin, Germany, is a learned and elaborate study of the questions when did the idea and knowledge of the virgin-birth enter the public mind? and what evidence is there that the hostile Jews of Christ's days knew of and denied such claim? The next article is the second part of "Genesis of the New Testament," by Professor L. T. Townsend, S.T.D., Boston; and there follows a piece of particular interest, "The Problem of Education in the Southern States," by J. C. Hartzell, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Cincinnati. It is well argued and carefully proven, but it ends with that somewhat appalling sentence, that "what has hitherto been done for this cause is scarcely a beginning." "The Province of Philosophy," by William Riley Halstead, D.D., Bloomington, Ind., indicates the intimate though delicate relation between philosophy and religion; and "The Portico to Our Book of Discipline," by William F. Warren, S.T.D., Boston, gives a criticism and proposes an amendment of the opening sentences of the Methodist Book of Discipline. A careful investigation, "Wesley as a Scientist," by W. C. Cahall, M.D., Philadelphia, is also of great interest.

The Missionary Review, London, New York, Toronto, Jan., 1892.

The title of the article "The Gospel Afloat" will strike the reader as a little peculiar. The article gives an account of a new enterprise by which Dr. McAll hopes to make his work of evangelization in France still more efficient, and the enterprise consists in a new mission boat especially adapted for French waters. The account is very interesting, but the title seems rather unfit to catch and direct the attention. Other interesting articles are

"Christian Missions and the Highest Use of Wealth," by Merrill Edward Gates, LL.D., "Chinese Blue Books," etc.

The New Englander and Yale Review, New Haven, Jan., 1892.

The first article, "Abolitionists and Prohibitionists," is the wisdom of one experience, already made, applied to another experience, now making—a bit of the philosophy of history unfolded at a place where history seems about to repeat itself: an analysis of the abolitionist movement and the embarrassment its ultraism caused sunk into the prohibitionist movement now going on, in order to eliminate what ultraism it may contain. In a similar manner the last article, "Criminology," by Arthur MacDonald, may be called an extended and, with fit examples, illustrated definition of what criminology is, generally, specially, and practically. Among the other articles are "Philadelphia," by Barr Ferree—a study in morals; "Some Letters of the Younger Pliny," by Samuel Ball Platner—a study of character; and "Should Marriages be Indissoluble?" by Thomas S. Potwin, which question, on the authority of the New Testament, is answered thus: "The indissolubility of marriage should be aimed at the ideal of the Christian conscience, but not enacted into law to be enforced."

The Old and New Testament Student, Hartford, Conn., Jan., 1892.

The present number contains the portrait of Samuel Ives Curtis, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the Chicago Theological Seminary, accompanied with a biographical sketch by Professor George H. Gilbert, Ph.D.; the first part of "The Discovery and Decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions," by Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., and "A College Teacher of the Bible," by Charles F. Thwing. The question "Shall the Teachings of Jesus be Taken Literally?" by Rev. Arthur S. Phelps, B.D., Denver, Col., refers not to the devotional ecstasies of one hundred years ago, nor to the doctrinal controversies of fifty years ago, but to the practical obedience of to-day.

Our Day, Boston and Chicago, Jan., 1892.

Two articles of the present number, "National Precedents for Sunday Closing of the World's Fair," by Rev. William C. Wood, Boston, and the "Boston Monday Lectures," by Joseph Cook, treat the same subject; and in a similar manner the subject of Mormonism is considered twice by different writers and from different aspects. The reader will find this method of making up a number of a monthly of great efficiency. Specially interesting is "Inadequate Theological Education in England," by Professor D. W. Simon, Edinburgh.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Philadelphia, Jan., 1892.

"Ritschl's Theology," by Rev. Charles M. Mead, D.D., Boston, has the appearance of being only a rapid survey of the most prominent features of the principal school of present German theology and a preliminary investigation of the reasons why that school has made an unfavorable impression upon the writer; but it is in reality a complete exposition of the essential character of Ritschl's theological system and a searching criticism of the tendencies it involves. The exposition

is a little schismatical, because given in detached thesis whose inner connection is not apparent at first glance, but it is clear, precise, easy to grasp, and impossible to mistake; and as the criticism proceeds the organic connection becomes apparent, and the tendencies involved stand out with decisive sharpness. The author thinks that the system, or at least an influence of it, will one day put in its appearance on American soil. If so, it cannot be said any more to coerce sin introduced. "Satan in the Old Testament," by Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., LL.D., New York, is a learned study, often very acute in its details, and presenting questions almost from every branch of the theological system. Besides "Socialism," by Rev. James McGregor, D.D., Oamaroo, New Zealand, and "Religious Thought in the Russian Empire," by Rev. Nicholas Bjerriny, New York, both of which articles at many points touch upon the relation between socialism and Christianity, the present number also contains "Christianity and Social Problems," by Professor Charles A. Aiken, D.D., Princeton, in which the writer undertakes to consider some of the offices of Christianity in respect to the social problems of to-day from the platform that every social question is at heart a moral question. The article "Jean Astruc," by Professor Howard Osgood, D.D., LL.D., Rochester, N. Y., is a characterization of that author, drawn partly from his own acts, partly from the environment in which he lived, and throws a very strange but very striking light on his notorious "Conjectures."

The Reformed Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, Jan., 1892.

The answer which Professor Thomas G. Apple, D.D., LL.D., gives to the question "What is the Bible?" turns upon the fact that the Bible is a closed canon, which, however, does not exclude the idea of a progressive interpretation, and in the same direction points "The Inspiration of the Bible," by Rev. W. Rupp, D.D., repudiating the claim of absolute infallibility for the Bible on dogmatic grounds as something not at all needed in order to make the Bible a sufficient record of the divine revelation. "The Trend of History," by Rev. J. B. Rust, A.M., is an investigation of the true philosophy of history, learned and circumspect. In "Sunday Observance," by Rev. F. K. Levan, D.D., a paper read before the Association of Reformed Ministers and Elders for Spiritual Conference, the author considers the question both from its historical aspects and as a scriptural injunction. "Simon Bar Jona," by Mrs. T. C. Porter, is a psychological study with a specifically religious bearing.

The Sunday Magazine, Edinburgh, London, Dublin, Jan., 1892.

Besides its instalments of fiction, "Half-Brothers," by Hesba Stretton, "The Home Secretary," by Carmen Sylva, etc., and several well-illustrated sketches, "The Jewish Colony in London," by Mrs. Brewer, "Industries of the Holy Land," by Rev. W. Mann Stathan, and "Beyond the Frosty Caucasus," by Michael A. Morrison, the present number contains a sermon by H. Montagu Butler, D.D., "Obedient unto Death," and an article by J. Monro Gibson, D.D., "Infinite and Infinitesimal," which demonstrates the grandeur of the Old Testament's idea of God, both with reference to His infinite power and with reference to His infinitesimal care.

The Thinker, London, Jan., 1892.

"The Epiphany," by Rev. Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D., is an exposition of Isa. lx. 1, and "Thieves and Robbers," by Rev. Professor H. R. Reynolds, an exposition of John x. 8. "Inspiration and Criticism," by Rev. Professor J. Iverach, D.D., is a well-considered and well-written survey of the true relation between the inspiration of the Bible and biblical criticism, and seems to offer some points of efficient reconciliation between two opposing schools. The very interesting article "Mrs. Besant's Doubt, and Her Interview with Dr. Pusey," by Rev. Principal Charles Chapman, LL.D., will be found whole in the body of the present number of our magazine. "The Ten Pieces of Silver," by Mrs. E. A. Finn, is an antiquary note to Luke xv. 8, 9, and "Christ's Pre-eminence in all Things," by Rev. Professor Joseph Agar Beet, D.D., is a commentary on Col. i. 18.

The Presbyterian Quarterly, Richmond, Va., Jan., 1892.

"The Christo-centric Principle of Theology," by L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D., is a criticism of the "Institutes of the Christian Theology," by Professor Emanuel V. Gerhart, D.D., LL.D., Lancaster, Pa., or rather of the constructive principle of the theological system therein set forth. In "Dr. Briggs's Biblical Theology Traced to its Organic Principle," Professor Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D., Belfast, Ireland, tries to show that, under the guise of a result of modern ethical and religious philosophy, it is the old traditional Pelagian heresy which moves in the Inaugural of Dr. Briggs and forms his standpoint. "The Scriptural Limits of Denominationalism," by J. A. Waddell, D.D., seeks in the Scriptures themselves a remedy against the chaotic condition of Protestant Christianity. James MacGregor, D.D., Oamaroo, New Zealand, opens his essay on the "Bearings of Socialism on Morality and Religion" with the question whether socialism ought not to be saved from utter rejection on account of its atheism by regard to the circumstance that it has an ethic which to some extent is coincident with the Christian ethic? which question he answers by the remark that a pirate ship has a discipline that is much the same as that of the royal navy; and he goes on in the same explicit, unmistakable manner. "The Four Gospels," by E. C. Murray, is an exposition of their distinctive characteristics, and "Robert Browning," by W. S. Currell, Ph.D., a study not of the poet, but of the man.

The Homiletic Review, New York, London, Toronto, Jan., 1892.

In "Present Aspects of Nature and Revelation as Related to Each Other" Sir J. William Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., Montreal, Canada, shows that various recent forms of natural religion are not only reconcilable with, but cognate to, and in some degree contained in, the religion of Jesus Christ. In "The Methodology of the Higher Criticism" Professor Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D., Belfast, Ireland, demonstrates the very method of the whole process as utterly unscientific. "What Ails Buddhism?" by J. T. Gracey, D.D., Rochester, N. Y., gives an interesting analysis of the whole myth or story of Gautama Buddha, and "Have the Monuments and Papyri Anything to Say of the Hebrews and the Exodus?" by Rev. Camden M. Cobern, Ph.D., Ann Arbor, Mich., discusses and clears up the relation between Hebrew and Egyptian history.

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HARPER'S MAGAZINE for February contains the beginning of a remarkably attractive series of papers describing a canoe voyage in 1801 down the Danube, "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea." The first article of the series is written by Poultney Bigelow, and superbly illustrated from drawings made, during the voyage, by Alfred Parsons and F. D. Millet. Julian Ralph contributes to this number another of his valuable and entertaining papers on the great Northwest, and under the somewhat enigmatical title of "A Skin for a Skin," describes the fur-trading industries of British North America and the operations of the once powerful Hudson Bay Company. The article is accompanied by several strikingly original illustrations drawn by Frederic Remington. Another paper of peculiar historic as well as local interest is an account of the "Old Shipping Merchants of New York," written by George W. Sheldon, and appropriately illustrated from drawings by C. D. Gibson and F. H. Schell and from paintings by Eaton and Nagle. A valuable article on "The Royal Danish Theatre," illustrated by Hans Tegner and others, is contributed by William Archer. The very interesting series of "Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne," by Horatio Bridge, is continued. In a paper entitled "Chicago—The Main Exhibit," Julian Ralph gives a graphic and glowing account of the present aspects of business and life in the great metropolis of the lakes. In the department of fiction this number offers the following unexampled attractions: the new play by Amélie Rives, "Athelwold," a tragedy in five acts, beautifully illustrated by Mary L. Gow; "The Little Maid at the Door," a story of the New England witchcraft delusion, by Mary E. Wilkins, illustrated by Howard Pyle; "Marie," another of William McLennan's inimitable French-Canadian sketches, illustrated by C. S. Reinhart; and "Fin de Siècle," a delightfully entertaining character sketch by Robert C. V. Meyers. John Hay contributes a poem, "Night in Venice," which is accompanied by a superb frontispiece illustration drawn by W. T. Smedley. Another charming poem, "The Stone Woman of Eastern Point," is by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. The Editorial Departments are conducted, as usual, by George William Curtis, William Dean Howells and Charles Dudley Warner.

THE most timely article in the February CENTURY is the one written by Mr. C. C. Buel, assistant editor of the magazine, which records the results of a personal investigation by him, in behalf of the readers of THE CENTURY, into the history, methods, and designs of a just now notorious institution. The title of the paper is "The Degradation of a State; or, The Charitable Career of the Louisiana Lottery." Mr. Buel goes back to the time when the lottery interests of the country were centered in New York City, and shows that the Louisiana Lottery was established for the benefit of New York gamblers and lottery dealers. The article describes the people who have been the chief beneficiaries of this extensive gambling institution, and exposes the methods of bribery and political corruption by which the franchise was obtained, is maintained, and, as is now feared, is to be extended. This number is also made notable by a posthumous story by Wolcott Balestier, who is the co-author with Mr. Kipling of "The Naulahka." "Refeey" is novel in plot and situation, the principal characters being a conductor on a far Western railroad, and two young women, one the manager of an eating-house, and the other a telegraph operator. Mr. Balestier's friends consider this story a justification of the high hopes that were entertained for the future of this brilliant writer. Captain Francis V. Greene, late of the regular army, who now holds a commission as major in the militia, contributes an important illustrated paper on "The New National Guard;" and in "Open Letters" General A. V.

Kantz offers a plan of making the regular army serve as a school for officers of volunteers with a view to the national defense; Lieutenant R. K. Evans puts in a plea for "A National Militia." In the same number "The Naulahka" is continued, also Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's "Characteristics," the text being enriched by some original poems, and there are short stories by Mrs. Burt on Harrison, author of "The Anglomaniacs," and by the new Southern writer, Mrs. Virginia Frazier Boyle. Apropos of Washington's Birthday, Mr. Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, has an illustrated paper giving hitherto unpublished portraits of General and Mrs. Washington, and Nelly Custis. A most notable paper, by Edward Atkinson, on "The Australian Registry of Land Titles," will doubtless help forward a needed reform which seems to have made a start in this country. "Recent Discoveries Concerning the Gulf Stream," by J. E. Pillsbury, is a very fresh, curious, and valuable contribution to an old subject. In a profusely illustrated article on "Pioneer Days in San Francisco," Dr. John Williamson Palmer, the well-known writer, describes, from personal knowledge, the adventurous life and diverse types that lent romantic color to the origin and growth of the metropolis of the West. Dr. Wheatley's concluding paper on "The Jews in New York" is strikingly illustrated by a group of five artists, and contains information on this very timely and interesting subject never before gathered together. The famous "Bella," by Titian, engraved from the original by T. Cole, furnishes the frontispiece of this number of THE CENTURY, and calls attention anew to the fact that the Cole pictures are now at their most interesting point, having reached the most splendid period of Italian art. American art is interestingly represented by a full-page engraving of Brush's "Killing the Moose." There are poems by Frank Dempster Sherman, Clinton Scollard, Richard E. Burton, Bessie Chandler, Katharine Lee Bates, Charles J. O'Malley, and others. In "Topics of the Time" are editorials entitled "Will an American State be Guilty of Suicide?" "A Cheap Money Hand-Book," and "The Metropolitan Museum."

THE contents of SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for February are as follows: A Portrait, frontispiece (see American Illustration of To-day), from a pastel by William M. Chase; "Station Life in Australia," by Sidney Dickinson, drawings by Birge Harrison, engraving by Van Ness, Schüssler, Peckwell, and M. J. Whaley; "The Wrecker," Chapters xvi.-xvii., by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne (begun in August, 1891—to be continued), with a full-page illustration by W. L. Metcalf; "A Model Working-Girls' Club," by Albert Shaw, drawings by W. L. Taylor, engraving by E. H. Del'Orme; "If It Could Be!" by Octave Thanet; "Illusions of Memory," by William H. Burnham; "American Illustration of To-day," second paper, by William A. Coffin, with examples of the work of Robert Blum, H. Siddons Mowbray, Irving R. Wiles, H. Bolton Jones, Bruce Crane, F. D. Millet, E. H. Blashfield, J. H. Twachtman and Theodore Robinson; "Asleep upon the Grass," by Eliza Woodworth, with a drawing by Wyatt Eaton; "The Revenue-Cutter Service," I. Its Work in the Relief of Vessels in Distress, by Percy W. Thompson, Lieut. U. S. R. M.; II. Some Typical Rescues by the Revenue Cutters, by Samuel A. Wood, with drawing by W. B. Styles, engraving by C. L. Butler; "So it is True," by Rose Hawthorne Lathrop; "Washington Allston as a Painter," unpublished reminiscences of Henry Greenough, with engravings from paintings by Allston; "An Adventure in Philanthropy," by Edwin C. Martin; "The Arctic Highlander," by Benjamin Sharp, Ph.D., with drawings by O. H. Bacher and J. H. Twachtman, engraving by M. J. Whaley; "The Complete Dutch Kitchen-Maid," a picture of Holland a century and a half ago, by Cornelia J. Chadwick; "Comfort of the Fields," by Archibald Lampman; "The Commonest

Possible Story," by Bliss Perry; "The Point of View"—The Dangers of Comfort, Laughter and Democracy, The Mysteries of Life, Browning in the Future.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE for January has the following contents: Frontispiece, "Columbus," "The Columbus Portraits," illustrated, William Elmeroy Curtis; "The Salon," illustrated by the author, M. Riccardo Nobili; "Aluminium—The Metal of the Future," illustrated, Joseph W. Richards; "In Camp with Stanley," illustrated by George Wharton Edwards, and from drawings made on the spot, A. I. Mouteney Jephson; "Refuge," poem, George Macdonald; "A Daughter of the South," illustrated by Wilson De Meza, Mrs. Burton Harrison; "A March Day," poem, Archibald Lampman; "Old New York," illustrated, James Grant Wilson; "Humpty Dumpty," illustrated from photographs by H. C. Edwards, Adam Bede; "Sun Shadows," poem, Ella Wheeler Wilcox; "What Say ye, Women, to This?" illustrated by "Chip," Will J. Lampton; "The Kansas Railroad Commission," Albert R. Greene; "Old Time Magazines," illustrated, Frank H. T. Bell; "The Special Correspondents at Washington," illustrated, T. C. Crawford; "Fencing and Fencers in Paris," illustrated by Kendall, Charles De Kay; Current Events, Murat Halsted; "Social Problems," Edward Everett Hale; "About Beautiful Books," Brander Matthews; and for February: Frontispiece, "William Dean Howells"; "Love and Marriage in Japan," illustrated by Wilson De Meza and W. Peilham, Sir Edwin Arnold; "The Petroleum Industry," illustrated, Peter MacQueen; "The Columbus Portraits," illustrated, William Elmeroy Curtis; "Leading Amateurs in Photography," illustrated, Clarence Bloomfield Moore; "Peppered by Afghans," illustrated by R. F. Zogbaum, Archibald Forbes; "Relation of Invention to Conditions of Life," illustrated, George H. Knight; "The Rise and Fall of Fonseca," illustrated, Robert Adams, Jr.; "Destiny," poem, Alice I. Eaton; "De Juventute," illustrated by F. G. Atwood, Daniel Colt Gilman; "Safe," poem, Belle Willey Gue; "Pets and Sports of a Farmer Boy," illustrated by D. C. Beard, Murat Halsted; "Trailing Yew," illustrated by C. R. Grant, Patience Stapleton; "Ave! Nero, Imperator," poem, Duffield Osborne; "In a Dove Cote," poem, illustrated by L. W. Ziegler, C. H. Crandall; "Mr. Howells and his Work," H. H. Boyesen; "Social Problems," Edward Everett Hale; "About Books of Reference," Brander Matthews.

PROFESSOR LANCIANI'S paper on "The Pageant at Rome in the year 17 B. C." has the foremost place in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY for February. It is devoted to an account of the public games held in Rome seventeen years before Christ, and instituted under the patronage of Augustus, the Senate, and the College of the Quindicimviri. Most important evidences of these games have been lately discovered in Rome; and these having come under Professor Lanciani's eye, he has reconstructed an account of the games and also given a description of the important discoveries lately made, which is of the highest interest not only to archaeologists, but to the general reader. Writing of Rome reminds us of Mr. Crawford's second instalment of "Don Orsino," which gives incidentally an idea of the mania for speculation and building lately rife in Rome, and contains a vivid description of the Pope assisting at a service at St. Peter's. Another subject, still Italian, is "A Venetian Printer-Publisher in the Sixteenth Century," the printer-publisher in question being Gabriele Giotto, the chief of a firm of printers and booksellers, who flourished in Venice during a large part of the sixteenth century. Venice is also the scene of a charming little sketch called "The Descendant of the Doges," by Harriet Lewis Bradley. Isabel F. Hagood, who showed us "Count Tolstoy at Home," in a recent number of the ATLANTIC, has an article on "A Journey on the Volga," a graphic sketch of Russian life. Henrietta Channing Dana discusses "What French Girls Study," and gives a very sympathetic picture of the life of a French school and the kind of training which French girls receive in it. Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard University, a Kentuckian by birth, writes with knowledge on "The Border State Men of the Civil War," an interesting pendant to the paper by Professor Gildersleeve in the last number of the ATLANTIC. Professor Gildersleeve, it will be remembered, decided for the Southern cause. Professor Shaler, in this article, gives his reasons for unhesitating fidelity to the Northern side in the civil war. Professor E. P. Evans writes about "The Nearness of Animals to Men," and Mr. Albert H. Tolman devotes an able paper to "Studies in Macbeth." A discussion of "The League as a Political Instrument," and reviews of a dozen or more volumes of recent fiction, under the title of "The Short Story," complete a number well composed and thoroughly worth reading.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for February has the following contents: Frontispiece (portrait of Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood); "Roy the Royalist," by William Westall; "The Managing Editor" (The Journalist Series), by Julius Chambers; "February," by Louise Chandler Moulton; "The Hackney-Horse" (interview with Dr. R. S. Huidekoper), by Louis N. Megargee; "Across the Sea," by Philip Bourke Marston; "Secretary Rusk's Crusade," by Julian Hawthorne; "Sonnet," by Elizabeth Carpenter; "The Board of Trade and the Farmer," by

Henry Clews; "The Ambassador," by Charles Converse Tyler; "Jermyn's Portrait," by Clara Lanza; "Days of my Youth," by St. George Tucker; "Swimming" (Athletic Series), by Hermann Oelrichs; "Prince Gallitzin, Priest and Pioneer," by Hester Dorsey Richardson; "Since the Beginning," by Kate Putnam Osgood; "Recollections," by Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood; "Intangible," by Kate B. Lathrop; "The English Sparrow," by Mary Isabella Forsyth; "Names vs. Initials," by Jane de Forest Shelton; "As it Seems," "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

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Miller, William Haig. The Great Rest-Giver. New York: Revell, 1891. Pp. 224, 12mo, \$1.00.

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Pickford, Alice T. Step by Step; or, The Lord's Leading. Philadelphia: Am. Bapt. Pub. Soc., 1891. Pp. 192, 12mo, cloth, 90 cts.

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Reuss, R. Zum Gedächtnisse Martin Butzers, des Strassburger Reformators. Rede. Strassburg i. E.: Heitz, 1891. Pp. 30, 8vo, 30 pf.

Robertson, W. B. Martin Luther. German student life; poetry. From the manuscripts of the late—. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1891. Pp. 210, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Robinson, L. L., Miss. Systematic Bible Study for Advanced Classes. Milwaukee: Y. Churchman Co., 1892. Pp. 170, 16mo, 30 cts.

Ross, D. M. The Cradle of Christianity. Chapters on modern Palestine. London: Hodder, 1891. Pp. 256, p. 8vo, 5s.

Rotheham, Joseph B. The New Testament. Newly translated and critically emphasized. With an introduction and occasional notes. Indexed. New York and Chicago: Revell, 1891. Pp. 492, 12mo, cloth, \$1.50.

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Sanford, A. B., Rev., (ed.) The Methodist Year Book for 1892. New York: Meth. Bk. Conc., 1891. Pp. 133, 12mo, paper, 10 cts.

Schiffini, Sanctus, S. J. Disputationes philosophiæ moralis. Augustæ Taurinorum (Freiburg: Herder), 1891. 2 vols. Pp. 432, 669, 8vo, 9.60 mk. (Inhalt: I. Ethica generalis. II. Ethica specialis.)

Schlatter, D. A. Jason von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Wiederherstellung. München: Beck, 1891. Pp. iii., 53, 8vo, 3 mk.

Schleimer, Alexis. Der Positivismus. Eine kritische Studie. Dissertation. Leipzig: Fock, 1891. Pp. 31, 8vo, 80 pf.

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Sermon Year Book and Selected Sermons for 1891. London: Hodder, 1891. Pp. 416, p. 8vo, 6s. (Sermons and outlines by leading English Churchmen and Dissenters.)

Smyth, Julius K., Rev. Holy Names. As interpretations of the story of the Manger and the Cross. Boston: Robinson, 1891. Pp. 203, 12mo, \$1.00.

Stannard, J. T. The Divine Humanity, and Other Sermons. Edited by Rev. John Hunter. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1891. Pp. 232, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Stanton, V. H. The Places of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief. London: Longmans, 1891. Pp. 230, p. 8vo, 6s.

Stern, E. Martin Butzer. Ein Lebensbild aus der Geschichte der Strassburger Reformation. Strassburg i. E.: Verlagsanstalt, 1891. Pp. 87, 8vo, 50 pf.

(Sturm, August, Dr.) Der alte und der neue Glaube. Von einem Juristen. Halle: Mähmann, 1891. Pp. vii., 62, 8vo, 1 mk.

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Trumbull, Henry Clay. Friendship the Master-Passion; or, the Nature and History of Friendship and its Place as a Force in the World. Philadelphia: Wattles, 1892. Pp. 413, 8vo, cloth, \$3.00.

Tyndall, C. H., Rev. Object Sermons in Outline. Introduction by Rev. A. F. Schaffler, D.D., with numerous illustrations. New York and Chicago: Revell, 1891. Pp. 254, 12mo, cloth, \$1.00.

Universal Register. 1892. Boston: Universalist Pub. House, 1892. Pp. 112, 12mo, paper, 25 cts.

Vaughan, C. J. The Prayers of Jesus Christ. A closing series of Lent Lectures delivered in the Temple Church. London: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. 134, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Vickers, J. The Real Jesus. A review of His life, character, and death from a Jewish standpoint. Addressed to members of the Theistic Church. London: Williams, 1891. Pp. 350, p. 8vo, 6s.

Wallace, C. J. The Analogy of Existence and Christianity. London: Hodder, 1891. Pp. 308, p. 8vo, 6s.

Watson, George D., D.D. Love Abounding, and other Expositions on the Spiritual Life. Boston and Chicago: McDonald, 1891. Pp. v., 408, 12mo, cloth, \$1.50.

Weill, Ernst, Dr. Der Commentar des Malmonides zum Tractat Berachoth. Arabischer Text mit hebräischer Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen. Berlin: Mayer, 1891. Pp. 33, 8vo, 2 mk.

Wellhausen, J. Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah. 31 ed. New York: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. 229, 12mo, cloth, \$2.00.

Wells, J., Rev. Bible Object-Lessons. Addresses to the Young. London: Nisbet, 1891. Pp. 240, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Williams, G. Mott, Rev. The Old Theology and the New. A sermon, delivered at the close of his ministry as Dean of All Soul's Cathedral, Milwaukee. Milwaukee: Y. Churchman Co., 1892. Pp. 17, 12mo, paper, 10 cts.

Wilms, W. Vernunft und Glaube. Eine Kritik der herrschenden Religion vom Standpunkte der Laien. Zürich: Verlagsmagazin, 1891. Pp. 77, 8vo, 60 pf.

Witte, Mme. de (née Guizot). La Charité en France à travers les siècles. Paris: Hachette, 1891. Pp. 435, 8vo, 7 fr.

Worms, R. La morale de Spinoza: examen de ses principes et de l'influence qu'elle a exercée dans les temps modernes. Paris: 1891. Sm. 8vo, (3s. 6d.)

Younghusband, Frances. The Story of the Exodus. Being Part 2 of "The Story of the Bible." London: Longmans, 1891. Pp. 156, p. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Dec. 18-21. Second meeting of the Institute of Sacred Literature, at Chicago. A University Extension scheme for Bible study was discussed.

Dec. 19. A gift of property valued at \$150,000 was accepted for the site of the Washington, D. C., Protestant Episcopal Cathedral. The donors are Francis G. Newlands and H. Peirce Waggaman.

Dec. 22. First annual meeting of the United Christian Commission at Washington. This is to promote the spiritual interests of the army and navy.

Dec. 29. Meeting of college presidents under the auspices and in the interests of the Young Men's Christian Association, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dec. 29-30. Fourth annual meeting of the American Society of Church History, in Washington, D. C. Many valuable papers were presented. One of the most important announcements made was that arrangements had been made for the compilation, by eminent scholars, of a series of denominational histories. The Rev. Professor Newman, of Toronto, will write the Baptist History; Professor Williston Walker, of Hartford, the Congregational; Professor H. E. Jacobs, the Lutheran; the Rev. Dr. Buckley, the Methodist; Professor Thompson, of

the University of Pennsylvania, the Presbyterian; the Rev. Dr. Tiffany, the Protestant Episcopal; Professor Thomas O'Gorman, of the Catholic University of Washington, the Roman Catholic; Professor J. H. Allen, the Unitarian; Rev. Richard Eddy, the Universalist; Professor J. H. Dubbs, of Lancaster, Pa., the Reformed German; Dr. Corwin, of New Brunswick, N. J., the Dutch Reformed; Professor Hamilton, of Bethlehem, Pa., the Moravian; and the Rev. B. B. Tyler, that of the Disciples of Christ. The other denominations are not yet arranged for. The series will be published by the Christian Literature Company.

Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in Washington, D. C.

Jan. 5. The will of Mrs. Robert L. Stuart was filed for probate. Her property was nearly all left to religious organizations, mainly those connected with the Presbyterian Church. In particular, about \$300,000 was left to each of the following interests: The American Bible Society, the Boards of Home and Foreign Missions and of Church Erection of the Presbyterian Church, Lenox Library, the Presbyterian Hospital of New York City, and the Presbyterian Hospital. Besides these, other societies, twenty-six in number, each receive about \$80,000.

Jan. 5-7. Third congress of the colored Catholics of the United States at Philadelphia.

Jan. 7-8. Fifth annual convention of the (Episcopal) Church Student's Missionary Association, at Middletown, Conn.

Jan. 10. Reports of the American Delegates to the World's Evangelical Alliance Conference at Florence, Italy, in April, 1891, delivered at the Marble Collegiate Church, New York.

Jan. 12. Reconvention of the Presbyterian General Assembly's Committee on the revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith, in New York City.

Jan. 13-14. Annual meeting of the (Congregational) Woman's Board of Missions, in Brooklyn.

Jan. 20. Thirty-first anniversary of the Woman's Union Missionary Society, at Bible House, New York City.

The Ven. Norman Dumenil John Straton, M.A., Archdeacon of Huddersfield and Vicar of Wakefield, has been elevated to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, to fill the place of Bishop Bardsley, who was transferred to Carlisle. The appointment and transfer met much adverse criticism.

The first financial echo of the protest against Dr. Briggs comes from the Washington Presbytery. John T. De Sellum, of Rockville, has left \$21,000 to Princeton Theological Seminary. He had previously bequeathed the money to Union Theological Seminary, but changed the will subsequent to the passing of a resolution by his Presbytery directed against Professor Briggs.

The Rev. Charles R. Uncles, lately ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Gibbons, is the first colored man so ordained in the United States.

The New Year has given utterance to increasingly loud protests against the "International Sunday-School Lessons."

The Rev. Dr. Henry Gabriels, President of St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary, Troy, has been appointed by the Pope Bishop of Ogdensburg.

Two new dioceses are in process of formation in the English Colonial Church: Lebombo, to include Delagoa Bay, and British Honduras.

Mrs. Elizabeth U. Coles, who died Dec. 29th, in New York, has bequeathed a sum estimated at over \$200,000 to the Episcopal Cathedral in New York City.

The Rev. John McNeil, the popular London preacher, has resigned his pulpit in Regent Park, in order to join Moody and Sankey in evangelistic work in Scotland.

OBITUARY.

Aiken, Rev. Charles Augustus (Presbyterian), Ph.D. (Princeton, 1866), D.D. (Princeton, 1870), died at Princeton January 14, 1892, aged 64. He was Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary, and

was the author of a book on "Ethics" and on "The Historical Books of the Old Testament."

Burr, Rev. Erastus (Episcopalian), D.D. (Kenyon College), died at Portsmouth, O., December 15, 1891, aged 86.

Childs, Rev. John A. (Episcopalian), D.D., secretary of the diocese of Pennsylvania; died Monday, December 21, 1891, aged 77.

Crowther, Right Rev. Samuel Adjal, D.D. (Colonial Church of England), Bishop of the Niger Territory, died December 31, aged over 70. He was a native African, and was carried off as a slave by Arabs in 1821.

Huidekooper, Professor Alfred (Unitarian), died at Meadville, Pa., January 13, aged 82. He founded the Meadville Theological School.

Judd, Rev. Orrin, Bishop (Baptist), D.D., LL.D., died January 12, 1892, aged 75. He founded the New York *Chronicle*, which he edited for several years.

Legge, Right Rev. Augustus (Church of England), D.D., Bishop of Lichfield, died in London January 7, aged 76.

Loughlin, Right Rev. John (Roman Catholic), D.D., Bishop of Long Island; born in Ireland in December, 1817; came to this country in his twelfth year; was ordained priest 1840; vicar general of the diocese of New York, 1849; bishop of the newly created diocese of Brooklyn, 1852, celebrated the golden jubilee of his priesthood October 18, 1890; died at Brooklyn, N. Y., December 29, 1891, aged 74.

Manning, Cardinal Edward (Roman Catholic), D.D. (Rome, 1854), was born July 15, 1808; graduated at Balliol College, Oxford, 1830; was ordained in the Church of England; became archdeacon of Chichester 1840; became a Romanist 1851; archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and cardinal in 1875; died January 14, 1892. He was connected with the Tractarian movement, and his writings are numerous and influential. Among his most important works are "On the Unity of the Church," "England and Christendom," "Petri Privilegium," "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," "Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance" and several volumes of "Sermons."

Marango, John (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Athens and Delegate Apostolic of the Holy See, died December 17, aged 58.

Philpott, Right Rev. Henry (Church of England), late Bishop of Westminster, aged 83.

Reeves, Right Rev. William (Church of Ireland), D.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1850), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1860, and Trinity College, Dublin, 1871), Bishop of Down and Connor since 1886, died January 12, 1892. Among his writings are "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor," "Account of St. Patrick's Bell" and "The Nature, Source and Influence of Contentment."

Simeoni, Cardinal Giovanni, Prefect-General of the Propaganda under the present Pope and Secretary of State under Pius IX., died in Rome January 14, 1892, aged 75.

Skinner, Rev. Thomas H. (Presbyterian), D.D. (Princeton, 1867), Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in McCormick Seminary, Chicago, died January 4, 1892, aged 71. He was called to the chair in 1881.

Thibaudier, Archbishop of Cambrai, born 1823, died at Cambrai January 9, 1892, aged 68. Prior to his elevation to the Archbishopric he was Vicar General of Lyons, Bishop of Si-donia and Bishop of Scissions and Laon.

CALENDAR.

Feb. 2-3. Baptist Winter Missionary Conference at Des Moines.

Feb. 7-12. Baptist Workers' Convention at Nashville.

Feb. 24. Ordination of the Rev. C. K. Nelson (Episcopalian), D.D., Bishop elect of Georgia, at Atlanta.

Mar. 2. "Alliance Day" at all theological seminaries connected with the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance.